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VOLUME XVII

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SOME AMERICAN CRITICS OF PUBLIC ADDRESS, 1850-1900*

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IN 1925, Professor Herbert A. Wichelns observed in his now-celebrated essay on "The Literary Criticism of Oratory,"

Histories of criticism, in whole or in part, we now have, and histories of orators. But that section of the history of criticism which deals with judging of orators is still unwritten.¹

It was Wichelns' intention "to spy out the land, to see what some critics have said of some orators, to discover what their mode of criticism has been," and thus to lay the groundwork for the kind of history he envisioned.

In the quarter of a century which has passed since the writing of this essay, a lively professional interest has been manifested in the criticism of speaking. But relatively little attention has been devoted to the analysis and evaluation of criticism itself. Undoubtedly the most significant steps in this direction have been taken recently by Professors Thonssen and Baird who in their volume on *Speech Criticism* have reviewed the work of major critics of oratory. But these writers make no pretense of having written a complete history of criticism. Their avowed purpose is "the development of

standards for rhetorical appraisal," and incidental to the accomplishment of this purpose they have summarized the methods of representative critics from antiquity to the present. We have as yet, therefore, no comprehensive history of the criticism of public speaking. The need indicated by Professor Wichelns still exists.

The authors of *Speech Criticism* include only seven Americans in their list of "modern critics" who wrote during the last half of the nineteenth century. Only one of these, Chauncey Goodrich, is regarded as a major figure. All the others are dispensed with in less than three pages as "Minor Contributors to Method in Criticism."² This, unquestionably, is as it should be. There can be little doubt that the authors, their purpose being what it is, have made an accurate evaluation of the place of these men in the larger picture. Viewed in the panorama of critics from Plato to the present, men such as Mathews and Magoon cannot be regarded as major figures.

However, when it is realized that these few pages contain practically the only treatment we have of the criticism of speaking during a half-century of American history, the need becomes ap-

*A condensation of one section of a doctoral dissertation completed in 1948 at Northwestern University. Professor Ernest J. Wrage directed the research.

¹ *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans* (New York, 1925), p. 181.

² Thonssen, Lester and Baird, A. Craig, *Speech Criticism* (New York, 1948), pp. 271-273.

parent for a more intensive survey which would take into account not only full-length critical treatises, but also comment in periodicals, essays, prefaces, and the like. The present study is a step in this direction. It proposes to single out a limited period, namely, the second half of the nineteenth century, to indicate the principal sources of critical comment on secular speaking during this period, and to examine the methods and standards of the more noteworthy critics in each category.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF CRITICISM AND COMMENT

The middle of the nineteenth century appears to have marked the end of an era in the history of American oratory. The debate on the Compromise of 1850 was the last performance of the great triumvirate, Webster, Clay, and Calhoun; two years later all three were in their graves. The "golden age" of our oratory was coming to an end and a new age was at hand. It has been observed that periods of intense creative activity are often followed by periods of criticism. If this is so, much of the criticism of the most memorable American oratory might be expected immediately subsequent to 1850. Examination indicates that this was indeed the case. During the fifties and sixties much critical interest was manifested in the practice of public speaking, as evidenced by a substantial number of articles, speeches, and books on the subject. The publication of such comment diminished during the seventies and eighties, but a revival of interest became apparent during the last decade of the century. There were more magazine articles devoted to comment on oratory from 1896 to 1900 than during the entire twenty-year period from 1870 to 1890. The year 1896 alone produced two histories of oratory, the first in America, and at the turn of

the century, within a period of less than three years more than a dozen collections of speeches were published, some of them deluxe editions of as many as fifteen volumes. This proliferation of articles and books continued well into the first decade of the twentieth century.

What was the nature of this critical comment, and by whom was it written? Obviously it did not flow from the pens of professional "rhetorical critics"; first-rate critics of literature were few enough, and critics who concentrated upon public address were nonexistent. Nevertheless, the list of men who were sufficiently interested in oratory to publish essays, articles, and books on the subject includes many distinguished names. Among them are well-known ministers, literary figures, college professors, and men in public life. Prominent among the clergymen were Henry Ward Beecher, Edward Everett Hale, and Thomas W. Higginson. Among literary men were Julian Hawthorne, E. P. Whipple, John Burroughs, Frank Moore Colby, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and three famous editors, E. L. Godkin of the *Nation*, George W. Curtis of *Harper's*, and Harry T. Peck of *Bookman*. Educators who were also critics of speaking were Chauncey Goodrich, Brander Matthews, Lorenzo Sears, Cyrus Northrop, and William Mathews. Men in political life also manifested an interest in the art of oratory, men of such stature as John P. Altgeld, Governor of Illinois, Thomas B. Reed, speaker of the House of Representatives, Justice David J. Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, and Senators Depew, Beveridge, Hoar, and Dolliver.

If, as we have intended to show, the critics and commentators themselves were of widely differing backgrounds and experience, the comment is equally various. One comes upon it in the most

out-of-the-way places. In a book of essays by a professor of Greek is an answer to the old question, "Is ancient eloquence superior to modern?"³ The editor of a small church monthly indites "A few Thoughts on Public Speaking," comments growing out of observation of the faults of speakers he has heard.⁴ A reviewer sets out to review a book of speeches and drifts into a treatise of his own on the speaking of Clay or Webster or Everett.⁵ An editor, crusading for better government, deplores the disinclination of Congress to subject important public measures to serious and open discussion.⁶ A literary man tries his hand at political campaigning and reports his impressions of audiences, speakers, and political oratory in general.⁷ A Supreme Court Justice edits a collection of speeches and writes a critical preface;⁸ a bishop dedicates a school of oratory;⁹ a humorist satirizes the Fourth of July oration.¹⁰

Obviously, then, the literature includes items varying widely in length, importance, value, and intent. There are voluminous anthologies of speeches with critical notes or essays; there are full-length histories of oratory; and there are scores of miscellaneous articles from periodicals. Despite the heterogeneity of the material, it is amenable to classification in two categories: In general,

it can be distinguished as either *criticism of oratory* or *criticism of orators*. Some critics are concerned with making observations upon the art, others with evaluating the performance of the artists. For example, one man, as a result of his experience on the political platform, notes that audiences are becoming more discriminating, that bunkum and emotional appeals no longer exert the influence they once did, and the speakers are beginning to discuss rather than obscure the issues in a given controversy. Another selects a group of political speakers, or singles out a particular speaker, and proceeds to analyze style, delivery, argument, methods of preparation, etc. Both are commenting on the practice of speaking; both are speech critics. The first type of criticism (that dealing with oratory as an art or as an institution) is found more abundantly in periodicals, essays, speeches, and to a lesser degree in anthologies; while criticism of speakers is found primarily in specialized works on oratory. Let us now examine separately these principal sources of critical comment.¹¹

Periodicals

American periodicals—weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies—are the most prolific source of comment. Nearly one hundred and fifty articles on orators and oratory appeared during this period in the pages of the *North American Review*, the *Nation*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Living Age*, *Forum*, *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, *Putnam's*, and similar publications. Some of these articles, it is true, may only by the wildest stretch of the imagination be dignified with the name "criticism." But though many are admittedly of minor importance, such commenta-

³ Hadley, James, *Essays, Philological and Critical* (New York, 1873), pp. 349-351.

⁴ Boggs, Edward B., *American Church Review*, XXVII (July, 1875), 450-456.

⁵ See *infra*, pp 5 and 6 for a discussion of this practice.

⁶ "Jamming Through," *Nation*, LXV (Dec. 9, 1897), 448-449.

⁷ Foulke, William D., "Campaigning in the West," *North American Review*, CLVI (Jan., 1893), 126-128.

⁸ Brewer, David J., ed., *The World's Best Orations* (St. Louis, 1901), 10 vols.

⁹ Vincent, John H., "A School of Oratory." *Chautauquan*, XXII (Jan., 1896), 453-461.

¹⁰ "Mr. Pepperage's Fourth of July Oration," *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, VI (July, 1855), 91-98.

¹¹ Newspaper comment has been omitted because of its lack of critical temper and because of the obvious impossibility of achieving an adequate coverage of the nation's newspapers over a fifty-year period.

ries, taken in the mass, are valuable in providing us with the sweep of opinion and therefore form an integral part of any representative picture of what passed for criticism at this time.

Certain general observations can be made concerning the nature of this periodical comment. In the first place, one is struck by the surprising number of articles on "Eloquence" or "Oratory." Such articles are lavish in their praise of the orator and his art, and frequently contain glowing tributes to eloquence as man's noblest achievement. A highly moral tone permeates these discussions, and the constant insistence upon *truth* as the ultimate object of eloquence often comes into conflict with their definition of eloquence in terms of successful persuasion—a conflict which the authors are seldom able to resolve. One writer, for example, having defined eloquence as the gift of persuasion, then states categorically that "He never can be eloquent who defends the wrong; he must be so who defends the right."¹² Another, sensing the dangers involved in his own definition of eloquence as the power of controlling the actions of men, follows it with the idealistic, but palpably false statement that

the passions cannot be reached before the understanding is convinced. No one could attempt to address the passions before the way had been prepared by the removal of prejudice, preposition and ignorance. . . .¹³

Frequently encountered also are articles devoted to observations upon the various types of speaking practiced in America. Comment on the lecture appears intermittently from the middle to the end of the century. Usually more informative than critical, it is concerned with such matters as the kinds of lectures

¹² Judson, A. M., "Eloquence," *Southern Literary Messenger*, XX (Sept., 1854), 538.

¹³ "Eloquence," *Evangelical Review*, IX (Apr., 1858), 586.

being offered, the strength and weakness of the lecture system, and the difficult life of the lecturer on tour. Evaluation of political and after-dinner oratory is most abundant during the late nineties. "Post-prandial" speaking is disparaged by some as having little more dignity than a minstrel show, and praised by others as an important phase of our cultural and intellectual life.¹⁴ The political address also is variously appraised, though at this time its champions seem more numerous than its detractors.

Particularly noteworthy is the remarkable interest displayed by prominent Americans in "stump speaking." The campaigns of 1896 and 1900 seem to have enticed into the political arena men who ten or fifteen years before would have shrunk from any personal contact with the corruption and hurly-burly of politics. It was a time of reaction against the excesses of the Gilded Age, and "respectable" people were beginning to discard their aloofness in favor of an active participation in the affairs of democracy. Some of these men, having tasted the blood of political battle, were impelled to record their impressions in the periodicals. Typical of such commentators were Curtis Guild, later three-time Governor of Massachusetts, and William D. Foulke, writer, reformer, and member of Theodore Roosevelt's Civil Service Commission. Guild's "The Spellbinder"¹⁵ and Foulke's "Campaigning in the West"¹⁶ and "The Spellbinders"¹⁷ give us an interesting estimate

¹⁴ See, for example, Matthews, Brander, "After-Dinner Oratory," *Century Magazine*, LVI (May, 1898), 118-122; "After-Dinner Speeches," *Scribner's Magazine*, XIII (May, 1893), 691-692; Crilly, Daniel, "The After-Dinner Oratory of America," *Nineteenth Century*, LVII (May, 1905), 853-868.

¹⁵ Guild, Curtis, Jr., *Scribner's Magazine*, XXXII (Nov., 1902), 561-575.

¹⁶ Foulke, William D., *North American Review*, CLVI (Jan., 1893), 126-128.

¹⁷ Foulke, William D., *Forum*, XXX (Feb., 1901), 658-672.

of the campaign oratory of the time by intelligent, informed participants. Implicit in their writings is an admiration for the intelligence and discernment of American audiences and an enthusiasm for the democratic processes.

Magazine articles dealing critically with individual speakers and speeches are decidedly in the minority.¹⁸ There is, however, considerable comment in the nature of personal reminiscence and historical narrative. Some writers look wistfully back over a life spent on the public platform, or to famous speakers whom they have seen in action.¹⁹ Others point with pride to the greatest speeches or the most memorable histrionic achievements of orators in the good old days, and relate once again some of the time-honored legends of Chatham and Burke, Henry and Webster.²⁰

Of the thirty-odd periodicals that carried articles on speakers and speaking, two—the *North American Review* and the *Nation*—displayed such a continuous interest in oratory over a period of years that they may be considered major sources of critical comment. These periodicals merit separate mention.

The North American Review.—Founded in 1815 by William Tudor, and pub-

lished during succeeding years under the editorship of such men as E. T. Channing, Edward Everett, Francis Bowen, James Russell Lowell, and Charles E. Norton, the *North American Review* was the most important critical journal in America throughout most of the nineteenth century. Among its contributors were the nation's foremost literary and political figures. Since this survey begins with the year 1850, we are here concerned only with articles appearing subsequent to that date and prior to 1870, when the *North American* ceased publishing comment on speaking and turned its attention to other matters.

The customary practice of contributors during these years was to cite at the head of their articles the names of one or more published works, and then to write what in form at least was a review of the works cited. Prominent among these works were biographies of speakers and collections of speeches. For example, during the two decades indicated, this periodical published reviews of the works of Webster and Calhoun, the collected speeches of Winthrop, Everett, Johnson, and Bright, and biographies of Clay, Randolph, and Canning. More often than not, the writers of these "reviews" merely took as their point of departure the book named at the head of their articles, and after having paid their respects to it in a page or two, proceeded to construct their own commentary upon the same or a related subject. Indeed, some of these articles fail to make any reference to the work they ostensibly set out to review. As a result, we find that articles professing to be reviews of the published works of Webster and Calhoun, or the biographies of Clay and Randolph, are in reality the writers' independent evaluations of the men, and not the works.

Since these articles are quite similar,

¹⁸ Daniel Webster is the favorite subject of such articles. See "The Question! Are You Ready For the Question?" *New Englander*, VIII (May, 1850), 292-312; Winthrop, Robert C., "Webster's Reply to Hayne, and His General Methods of Preparation," *Scribner's Magazine*, XV (Jan., 1894), 118-128; and Hoar, George F., "Daniel Webster," *Scribner's Magazine*, XXVI (July-Aug., 1899), 74-84; 213-220.

¹⁹ Hale, E. E., "The Orators—Modern American Oratory," *Outlook*, LXXI (June 7, 1902), 405-414; Higginson, T. W., "On the Outskirts of Public Life," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXI (Feb., 1898), 188-199; Hoar, G. F., "Some Famous Orators I Have Heard," *Scribner's Magazine*, XXX (July, 1901), 61-68.

²⁰ Representative of such articles are: Edwards, E. Jay, "Great Speeches by Eminent Men," *Chautauquan*, XIV (Mar. 1892), 682-688; Manson, Edward, "Happy Hits in Oratory," *Littell's Living Age*, CCXX (Mar. 11, 1899), 648-652; "Ten Best Speeches Ever Made," *Book News*, XX (Oct., 1901), 53-54.

an example will suffice to illustrate the method. At the head of his article on Canning,²¹ C. C. Smith lists three titles: *George Canning and His Times*, *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*, and *The Speeches of the Rt. Hon. George Canning*. After a scant page of comment on these three volumes, he begins his essay on Canning, scarcely mentioning them again. The essay begins with a biographical sketch outlining the speaker's schooling and dwelling at length on his parliamentary career. Smith quotes (probably from one of the three books listed) Canning's remarks on his reactions to his first speaking assignment in Parliament. He then discusses his voice and manner, comparing him with other British orators and illustrating from his speeches his use of language, his metaphors and illustrations, and his wit. Finally, he attempts to assess Canning's influence in regard to the questions agitated during his career. This essay is by no means entirely devoted to a consideration of Canning as an orator, but it does discuss his speaking, and is an illustration of the way in which contributors to the *North American* turned book reviews into evaluations of men.

It might be supposed, since this journal was devoted largely to the criticism of literature, that speakers would be discussed primarily as literary men and their speeches as literary productions. Although this is sometimes true, it is not always the case. The very fact that more attention is given to the man himself than to his speeches shows that there is no preoccupation with the printed page. A review of Webster's works, for example, might be expected to deal exclusively with the speeches as contributions to literature, yet in the hands of editor Bowen it becomes an estimate of

²¹ "George Canning," NAR, XCI (Jan., 1860), 76-124.

Webster as a statesman and a speaker.²² Bowen discusses Webster's reasoning powers, his religious and political principles, his claim to literary fame, his powers of description, his occasional speeches, and the secret of his eloquence (the faculty of subordinating style to argument and substance). This is an analytical essay, with the principal contentions illustrated by excerpts from Webster's speeches. Bowen emphasizes the extemporaneous quality of great oratory. Through the essay runs the subtle implication that it is somehow not quite within the rules of true eloquence to prepare a speech, certainly not to write it out beforehand.

Again, in his review of Winthrop's addresses,²³ Bowen makes a clear differentiation between the spoken and the written word. He points out that "living speech" will always be more influential than the printed page. Franklin, he says, would never have emptied his pockets for Whitefield's cause if he had *read* the evangelist's sermon, and Christianity might not last long if preaching were discontinued and each man given a Bible. He notes further that eloquence is dependent for its effect upon the contagious enthusiasm of the audience; the members of the crowd react upon one another and upon the speaker. Such an approach to speech-making can scarcely be termed "literary criticism."

In addition to criticism in the form of book reviews, the *North American* published occasional comment upon current speaking, some of which was clearly based upon printed copies of the speeches, some on on-the-scene observation. Charles Norton's critique of a speech by President Andrew Johnson²⁴ exemplifies,

²² Bowen, Francis, "The Works of Daniel Webster," NAR, LXXV (July, 1852), 84-124.

²³ NAR, LXXV (Oct., 1852), 332-338.

²⁴ "The President's Message," NAR, CII (Jan., 1866), 250-260.

in 1866, an approach to the criticism of public speeches that closely approximates the pattern of modern rhetorical criticism in that it considers such matters as the social setting and the speaker's relation to the setting, as well as the ideas presented. Norton follows this plan:

1. Background of the speech.
2. Characterization of Johnson.
3. The speech itself.
 - a. Outstanding characteristics.
 - b. Importance as a public document.
 - c. Examination of Johnson's arguments.
4. General appraisal of the position taken.

Criticism in the *North American Review* manifests certain marked characteristics. Particularly noticeable is an intense interest in patriotism, and a reverence for American institutions and symbols. A reviewer of Everett's addresses saves his highest praise for their "national tone," and "pervading patriotic purpose."²⁵ One finds also a hearty approval of conventional morality and orthodox theology in any speaker discussed.²⁶ Finally, one cannot but note the critics' admiration for classical allusion. They praise it in others; they delight to indulge in it themselves. They adorn their writings with numerous comparisons with ancient orators and occasions, often, it appears, primarily to display their own erudition in these matters. Nevertheless, the criticism is on the whole fairly well balanced. The speaker's style, delivery, character, training, preparation, and argument are all usually at least touched upon. Seldom is a preoccupation with style or delivery, or any other one factor, allowed to crowd out these other matters.

The Nation.—Founded in 1865 by

²⁵ Felton, C. C., "Everett's 'Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions,'" NAR, LXXI (Oct., 1850), 455-456.

²⁶ The *North American* was unmistakably conservative in both theology and politics, and many of its contributors were clergymen.

E. L. Godkin, the *Nation* was a highly respected source of comment upon literature, art, and public affairs. Because of the excellence of its writing and the intelligence of its judgments it was widely quoted by other periodicals. Although usually unsigned, many of the articles on speaking may be assumed to have been written by Godkin, who for years was editor of his own magazine.²⁷ Whether or not he wrote them all is of little importance, for they show the influence of the same consistent editorial policy.

A relentless critic of the Gilded Age, E. L. Godkin sought to expose and destroy the unbelievable public corruption of his day. His criticism of speaking was simply one aspect of his criticism of American institutional life. It is not difficult to see how a critic of public servants and of the way in which public business is carried on would inevitably be drawn to comment on the speaking of public men, since the business of a democracy is in a large measure transacted through public speech. Such was in fact the case, and Godkin brought to his comment on speaking the same demands for honesty and civic responsibility, the same hatred of ostentation and bad taste, that characterized all of his criticism. He and his colleagues on the *Nation* centered their criticism of speaking principally upon two areas, (1) political oratory (particularly Congressional speaking) and (2) rhetorical training; and they often wrote with pens dipped in vitriol.

During the decade following the Civil War, the *Nation* leveled several blasts of mordant satire at the prevailing style of Congressional oratory. Legislators were condemned for their verbosity,

²⁷ In 1883 he became editor of the *New York Evening Post*, but he continued to write for the *Nation*, which thereafter appeared as the weekly edition of that newspaper.

their ignorance and bad taste, and their inept attempts to achieve "eloquence." According to one critic, everything from the opening of a sewer to the stopping of a salary was treated with the grandiloquence and solemnity of an epic poem. Regardless of the nature of the subject, he maintained, Congressional orators "commence its treatment by ascending to the dawn of history, and then flounder down through the ages, to the bill or resolution under discussion, followed helter-skelter by nearly every conqueror and sage of antiquity."²⁸ This writer makes the point, which appears repeatedly in the pages of the *Nation*, that Americans, when they confine themselves to the business at hand, have little difficulty in expressing themselves effectively. It is when they attempt to be "fine," to feign erudition, that they make themselves ridiculous.

An article on the "Eloquence of the Impeachment Trial"²⁹ is a typical plea for simplicity and good taste in Congressional speaking. In the opinion of this writer, true eloquence consists in "sound reasoning surcharged with feeling, and exercised on topics at once of importance and of the widest interest." He finds little of this kind of eloquence in the impeachment trial, but a great deal of pure nonsense and gratuitous ornament. Of the indiscriminate use of classical allusion he says:

This sort of undigested bits of classic lore out of Plutarch and the dictionaries of biography have for some time been as certain an ear-mark of what is called polished "American eloquence" as wild ornithology is of our cross-roads variety. . . . It is noticeable . . . that the fondness for borrowing second-hand, threadbare classical or-

²⁸ "The Gift of the Gab," *Nation*, III (July 26, 1866), 75.

²⁹ *Nation*, VI (May 7, 1868), 366-367. The title is indicative of the spirit of the times; such an article would hardly be printed today. One expects to find, for example, no comment on "The Eloquence of the Atlantic Pact Debate" in the popular weeklies of our day.

naments is greatest among persons who . . . are in the completest ignorance of even the outside of antiquity.³⁰

This practice is attributed to the desire of lesser men to copy Charles Sumner. These men imitate Sumner's manner, hoping to impress by employing the externals of his scholarship. The writer suggests a House rule forbidding members to refer to any man, institution, or event prior to 1640 A. D. This, he says, would leave the Pilgrim Fathers, Napoleon, the French Revolution, and the Civil War, but would rule out a lot of nonsense and misquotation from the Greeks, the Romans, the Bible, and other standard sources of simulated scholarship.

An example of the way in which the *Nation's* criticism of the conduct of public affairs sometimes involved comment on speaking is the article on "Jammimg Through," published in 1897.³¹ This is a protest against the practice of "jamming" legislation through Congress without discussion and often against the public interest. The writer expresses grave concern about "the growing disinclination to discuss important public measures," and the strict adherence to party alignments. Such assurance of lack of discussion, he shows, makes it possible for small groups of politicians to concoct private schemes, put the party stamp on them, and present them knowing they are sure to pass.

Five years later, however, the *Nation* heralded the revival of discussion in an article entitled "Congress Again Debating."³² This observer notes an increasing interest in the proceedings of Congress, and submits that the reason for this interest is that Congress has actually been debating issues for a change. Votes have been altered; the discussion

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

³¹ *Nation*, LXV (Dec. 9, 1897), 448-449.

³² *Nation*, LXXIV (Apr. 24, 1902), 320-321.

preceding the vote has affected the outcome. The writer's thesis is that "the possibility of persuasion is the breath of life to public debate." He exhorts the leaders of Congress to heed this new interest brought about by genuine debate, to get rid of their stifling rules, and to make Congressional debate what it ought always to be, "a means of bringing out the better reason and the wiser policy."

Besides this perennial criticism of political oratory, the *Nation* published, especially during the first dozen years of its existence, considerable comment on rhetorical training in America. That the two subjects are not entirely unrelated is shown in an article on "The Gift of the Gab," which appeared in 1866. The writer (probably Godkin) indicts Congressional "debate" as mere sham battle which influences nothing. As the most important cause of this condition he names the emphasis in the schools and colleges on "the gift of the gab." He would like to see more emphasis on subject matter and sound reasoning, and less on delivery and mere fluency.

Facility in speaking, assurance and self-possession on one's legs are things which, in America, do not need much cultivation. They have become hereditary qualities. . . . The art which we need most of all to cultivate amongst the young is the art of having something to say, and of saying it in clear, pure, *unadorned* English.³³

This note is struck again and again in subsequent issues. On several occasions Godkin comes away from collegiate oratorical contests disgusted at sound and fury divorced from content. The *Nation* became an outspoken opponent of rhetorical training. In 1875, in a running debate with his readers which continued through several issues, the editor stated his position succinctly:

³³ *Nation*, III (July 26, 1866), 75.

Oratory without thought is vain; rhetorical training in youth is apt to promote oratory without thought, and make it seem a good thing. Moreover, this training is not necessary to produce the only things it can produce—fluency and assurance—because they are common enough without it; *ergo*, rhetorical training is undesirable.³⁴

Before condemning Godkin's sweeping indictment of rhetorical training as intemperate, it is well to consider the kind of instruction that was being offered the young men of his day. His criticism was directed against the elocutionists, who were then in control of speech training in the schools, and whose excesses were calculated to make the judicious grieve. To Godkin, as to others of his time, "rhetorical training" meant instruction in the external aspects of delivery, as distinguished from "mental training," or attention to reasoning, arrangement, and analysis.³⁵ Nor can his censure of certain aspects of political speaking be set aside as mere captiousness. It was part of a larger attempt to secure for America an honest and responsive government, and to raise her standards of taste. His was not a wholesale attack on public speaking any more than it was a wholesale attack on popular government. He exposed certain orators as he exposed certain public officials, because they were guilty of misusing their power and betraying their trust. His ultimate purpose was constructive, not destructive.

Essays

Volumes of essays upon miscellaneous subjects comprise a second source of comment on speaking. Far less numerous than magazine articles, the essays

³⁴ *Nation*, XX (Mar. 11, 1875), 171-172.

³⁵ Instead of "rhetorical training" Godkin proposed training "in the art of reasoning, in the arrangement of materials, in the quick perception of relations, and in penetrating to the heart of knotty questions," matters which today are accepted as the very essence of rhetorical training.

are on the whole more thoughtful, more critical, and generally of a higher literary quality. Treating a wide variety of topics, they range from reflections on the general theme of eloquence to estimates of individual speakers. Only the most noteworthy of the essayists can be mentioned here.

Edwin P. Whipple. Although Whipple is known today as a pioneer in the field of American literary criticism, he was also an occasional critic of public speaking. Scattered through his half-dozen volumes of critical essays are several excellent evaluations of orators. Whipple deplored the prevalence in the criticism of his day of "the cant of absurd panegyric" and "the cant of absurd invective," and sought to avoid both in his own critical writings. His essay on Sheridan³⁶ illustrates the principal characteristics of his method.

Whipple seeks in the first place to show the close relationship between the man's qualities of character or of mind and the nature of his expression. He names *ambition* and *indolence* as the dominant traits of Sheridan's character, and explains his life and work as efforts to gratify both. Sheridan's speaking attainments are presented as the result of a desire for distinction, an ambition for effect, which spurred him to prepare sparkling speeches to dazzle audiences, despite his innate indolence. Whipple pictures him as an exhibitionist, a master of repartee, a maker of epigrams—one who counterfeited depth of feeling and earnestness of purpose, but who was incapable of genuine sincerity.

Sheridan's part in the trial of Warren Hastings is used to good advantage in illustrating his exhibitionism and insincerity. Whipple does not deny that the speech on the Begums was Sheri-

dan's greatest or that it had a tremendous effect upon the House of Commons. But instead of proclaiming it the greatest display of eloquence ever heard, he probes deeper into the conditions which produced it. He contrasts Burke's genuine passion to expose the Indian atrocities with Sheridan's desire to display himself and his virtuosity at someone else's expense; between one's concern for impeachment and the other's concern for his own reputation. Sheridan, he thinks, of all the men engaged in the prosecution, had the most superficial feelings toward the crimes and the criminal.

Another notable feature of Whipple's writing is his unwillingness to accept uncritically the fulsome praise of a speaker's contemporaries. It is common to find critics of this time copying out testimonials of enthusiastic members of the audience and setting them end to end as if they constituted indisputable evidence of the man's oratorical supremacy. Whipple is not so easily persuaded. He flays Sheridan's Begum speech as verbiage and fustian, and then explains Burke's high praise of it (usually quoted as testimony too respectable to be questioned) as due partly to "the magnanimity of a rival orator," and partly to Burke's "intense enthusiasm for every effective speech delivered on his side of the subject."³⁷

In his study of Webster³⁸ Whipple touches upon the question of the orator's place in literature. The national literature, he asserts, is a record of the expression of our greatest minds, and is not restricted to poetry, novels, and essays. The great orator, whose speeches are a reflection of the American spirit, must not be barred from literature simply because he is not considered an "author,"

³⁶ *Essays and Reviews* (Boston, 1861), II, 250-302.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 288.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 172-207.

while scores of scribblers and poetasters are hailed as literary figures. In his essay on "The American Mind,"³⁹ Whipple goes so far as to say that political speakers give a clearer expression of our national life than do the so-called "literary" men, of whom he remarks that "the national life is not so much their inspiration as it is the object they would inspire." He then proceeds to discuss Webster, Clay, and Calhoun as genuine products of American life. After analyzing the "mind" of each he advances the thesis that, taken together, they are illustrative of "the American mind."

This broad conception of American literature as the expression of the American mind and spirit (so similar to that enunciated half a century later by Vernon Parrington in his *Main Currents in American Thought*) probably accounts for the inclusion of so many orators in Whipple's centenary sketch of American literature.⁴⁰ Appended to, and nearly as long as, this literary history is the well-known essay on "Daniel Webster as a Master of English Style." As the title implies, the writer is concerned with the development of Webster's prose style; but he is thinking of him as a speaker, a man who sought to influence audiences, rather than as a writer of "literature," in the traditional sense of that word. He enumerates and illustrates the outstanding characteristics of the orator's style. They are, according to this writer, simplicity, moderation, a power of compact statement, absence of personalities, imagery which springs from individual experience and which illustrates and enforces argument, a preponderance of Saxon words, and "organization," a quality which Whipple believes accounts for the persistence of

Webster's speeches as literature. The concept is vague and ambiguous, but the context seems to indicate that "organization" is a felicitous combination and interaction of the man, the subject, and the occasion.

In summary, Edwin P. Whipple was a professional literary critic whose broad conception of literature as an expression of the national spirit led him to consider those who addressed audiences as well as those who wrote books. His essays are not limited to the *speaking* of these men alone, but he never fails to recognize that they were speakers, and not merely writers of speeches. His criticism is distinguished by: (a) an alliance of the orator's character traits and qualities of mind with the nature of his work; (b) the conception of the speaker as a reflection of the national mind; (c) an understanding of the man's relation to the causes he supported or opposed; (d) an unwillingness to accept uncritically the judgments of other men, however eminent; (e) a clear, restrained prose style.

Ralph Waldo Emerson.—Emerson's two essays on "Eloquence" were originally delivered as lectures, one in 1847 before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, the other in 1867 at Chicago.⁴¹ In the first, Emerson reflects upon the nature of eloquence and the characteristics of the orator.⁴² Never content with one definition, he throws out half a dozen, beginning by describing eloquence as "a taking sovereign possession of the audience," and concluding with his famous statement that it is "the best speech of the best soul." The conception of eloquence here presented is that of a

³⁹ *Character and Characteristic Men* (Boston, 1866), pp. 129-164.

⁴⁰ *American Literature and Other Papers* (Boston, 1887).

⁴¹ The earlier essay also appeared as an unsigned article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, II (Sept., 1858), 385-397.

⁴² "Eloquence," *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Concord Ed. (Boston, 1903-04), VII, 61-100.

power to move men, to play on an audience as on an instrument—a power, moreover, that has its origin in the character or "moral sentiment" of the speaker.

The qualities of the orator are discussed at some length. He must possess a commanding personality—a fearless eye and "great volumes of animal heat." He must have the fact, and know how to tell it. He must have "method," a sort of knack of presentation. He must possess the poet's gift of powerful, picturesque statement, the ability to electrify an audience by condensing an argument into a hard-hitting phrase or a glowing symbol. But after completing the list with such qualities as humor, pathos, and tenacity of memory, Emerson hastens to add that "these fine gifts are not eloquence." Apparently a man may have all the niceties of speech and not be eloquent, and may lack them and be eloquent. It is imperative that the orator be completely possessed by a great cause or truth. Eloquence has its roots in the character, the morality, the "principle" of the speaker.

The second essay, written twenty years later, takes essentially the same position.⁴³ There is the same emphasis upon the speaker's integrity and the necessity for a sound foundation in fact. But this later product is more in the nature of a testimonial to the power and inspiration of the orator. It has more vigor, more anecdotes and illustrations, fewer recondite definitions; it sounds more like a popular lecture. Emerson confessed that he enjoyed delivering it because it afforded an opportunity to read examples of eloquence to his audience. Through it all runs an unmistakable enthusiasm for the speaker and his art. He compares the thrill of eloquence to that of a battle, speaks of the orator as a hero, names

manliness as the first qualification. This emphasis upon physical courage may perhaps be explained by the fact that since writing the first essay, Emerson had come to grips with real audiences. Through his active participation in the slavery battle, he had learned the difference between a patient, receptive lecture audience and an articulate, uninhibited political gathering. The second essay pictures a courageous, inspired orator, willing and able to stand up and hurl a truth into the teeth of his audience.

One finds also in this later work less contempt for the externals of speech, for training in techniques. His very definition, "*Eloquence is the power to translate a truth into language perfectly intelligible to the person to whom you speak*,"⁴⁴ implies a measure of skill and training. And he closes by pointing out the power of eloquence in the United States, and inquiring if it is not worthy of cultivation by young men interested in serving their fellow citizens.

Several of Emerson's other essays contain references to oratory. One finds reiterated the idea that the greatest eloquence is attained when the speaker becomes the transparent medium through which great truths are made manifest. "Truth alone is great," he says in one place. "The orator . . . becomes a fool and a shadow before this light which lightens through him."⁴⁵ And again, "In eloquence, the great triumphs of the art are when the orator is lifted above himself; when consciously he makes himself the mere tongue of the occasion and the hour, and says what cannot but be said."⁴⁶ This transcendent emphasis upon truth (or "fact," or "principle," or "morality," or whatever term he happens to use to describe it)

⁴³ *Eloquence*, *Works*, VIII, 111-133.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130; italics Emerson's.

⁴⁵ "The Scholar," *Works*, X, 282.

⁴⁶ "Art," *Works*, VII, 49.

is the one central feature of Emerson's criticism of contemporary speakers like Webster and Everett, criticism which is to be found scattered through the pages of his *Journals*, from which he drew heavily in writing his essays and lectures. It is eloquently expressed in one of his irresistible aphorisms:

If you would lift me you must be on higher ground. If you would liberate me you must be free. If you would correct my false view of facts—hold up to me the same facts in the true order of thought, and I cannot go back from the new conviction.⁴⁷

Lectures and Speeches

A considerable amount of critical comment on speaking was made from the platform. Lectures and speeches on the general subject of oratory were not uncommon. Henry Ward Beecher delivered a commencement address on "Oratory" in 1876.⁴⁸ On the defensive throughout, Beecher struck back at the disparagers of eloquence, bringing up common "objections" to oratorical training and putting them down with a firm hand. A few years later O. H. Tiffany, a Methodist minister, analyzed the Apostle Paul's address to Agrippa in a sermon which displayed some remarkably modern techniques of rhetorical criticism.⁴⁹ Another clergyman, the Rev. F. H. Hedge, delivered a sermon commemorating the death of Edward Everett, more than half of which consisted of an analysis of

⁴⁷ "Eloquence," *Works*, VII, 94. For examples of the work of other essayists who wrote critically of speakers and speaking see: Lowell, J. R., "Emerson the Lecturer," *The Complete Writings of James Russell Lowell*, Elmwood Edition (Boston, 1904), II, 389-404; Hadley, James, "Is Ancient Eloquence Superior to Modern?" *Essays, Philological and Critical* (New York, 1873), pp. 349-351; Colby, Frank Moore, "Old and New Debaters," *Imaginary Obligations* (New York, 1905), pp. 64-69.

⁴⁸ Beecher, H. W., *Oratory* (Philadelphia, 1893).

⁴⁹ Tiffany, O. H., "Oratory," *Pulpit and Platform* (New York, 1893), pp. 13-27.

Everett's oratory and a characterization of the public speaking of his day.⁵⁰

Prominent laymen were similarly interested in public analyses of eloquence. Cyrus Northrop, second president of the University of Minnesota, spoke in 1881 at the Yale Law School on "Eloquence and the Law."⁵¹ Some of our most memorable epideictic addresses contain incidental comment on oratory. Daniel Webster's passage on the nature of eloquence in his "Adams and Jefferson"⁵² has become classic, as has his brief appraisal of the eloquence of John Calhoun.⁵³ Rufus Choate described "The Eloquence of Revolutionary Periods" in an address delivered in Boston in 1857.⁵⁴

In 1852, Edward T. Channing revised for publication his lectures on rhetoric and oratory delivered while he was Boylston Professor at Harvard.⁵⁵ In the first of these lectures, "The Orator and His Times," Channing discusses the "circumstances in the state of society which distinguish the modern from the ancient orator." Noting the dangers of the oratory of an earlier day which sought to rule and sway the multitude, he points out that the role of the orator in modern society is not to replace laws and institutions, but to uphold them. Channing's orator is not a capricious, self-willed demagogue, but an earnest seeker after truth who would rather "cooperate with a thousand others than become the master of one." Another series of lectures, though of quite a different nature, was given by Thomas

⁵⁰ Hedge, F. H., *Discourse on Edward Everett* (Boston, 1865).

⁵¹ Northrop, Cyrus, *Addresses, Educational and Patriotic* (Minneapolis, 1910), pp. 51-85.

⁵² Webster, Daniel, *The Works of Daniel Webster*, 16th ed. (Boston, 1872), I, 131-132.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, V, 369.

⁵⁴ Choate, Rufus, *Addresses and Orations* (Boston, 1891), pp. 167-201.

⁵⁵ Channing, E. T., *Lectures Read to the Seniors in Harvard College* (Boston, 1856).

Wentworth Higginson in 1901 at Western Reserve University.⁵⁶ These lectures, which review colonial, revolutionary, antislavery and Lyceum oratory, are colloquial and informal, abounding in illustration and personal reminiscence.

It is impossible here to examine in further detail the speeches which dealt critically with orators and oratory. Enough has been said, however, to illustrate that eminent ministers and laymen were sufficiently convinced of the importance of these subjects to devote entire public discourses to their serious consideration.

Anthologies

More than a score of collections of speeches were published during this period, many under the editorship of prominent public figures. Ranging in length from a slender volume of oratorical fragments to a twenty-five volume anthology of complete orations, they are widely disparate as to critical value and significance. Some contain no critical comment and are of minor interest only because of their principles of selection and their purpose. Others include critical prefaces and/or essays dealing with various aspects of individual speakers.

Chauncey A. Goodrich.—Of these anthologies, one stands out far above the rest for the general excellence of its critical comment. This volume, *Select British Eloquence*, by Chauncey A. Goodrich, grew out of the author's many years of experience as professor of rhetoric at Yale. Goodrich was a staunch believer in teaching eloquence by example. His book, therefore, is a collection of speech models, selected from the works of twenty British orators, to which are added comprehensive critical notes designed as aids in studying the speeches. The

⁵⁶ Higginson, T. W., *American Orators and Oratory* (Cleveland, 1901).

method followed is to begin with a "memoir" of the speaker, to preface each speech with an historical background, to provide critical footnotes throughout the speech text, and finally to indicate the way in which the question was ultimately decided.

The memoirs follow the pattern indicated in the preface:

1. The orator's early training in eloquence.
2. Leading events in his political career.
3. The peculiar cast of his genius.
4. The distinctive characteristics of his oratory.

Points one and two comprise the great bulk of the sketch; point three is sometimes interwoven with them, sometimes discussed separately. The fourth point, a characterization of the man's eloquence, is usually a brief concluding statement. Occasionally, as in the memoir of Fox, the man's characteristics as a speaker (simplicity of style, use of repetition, flair for the dramatic, etc.) are enumerated in detail and vividly elaborated.⁵⁷ The biographical passages approach what might today be termed "rhetorical biography." That is to say, they aim to select only information which has a more or less direct bearing on their subject's *speaking* career—his rhetorical training, the nature and extent of his reading, and any other matters that might be expected to determine the kind of speaker he was to become.

In introducing the speeches themselves, Goodrich presents historical sketches designed to make them more meaningful to the student. He outlines the history of the question, indicates the *status* of the case at the time the speech was given, describes the conditions under which it was delivered, and in general re-creates the speaking situation so that the reader can view the speech in relation to the social-political

⁵⁷ Goodrich, Chauncey A., *Select British Eloquence* (New York, 1853), pp. 460-461.

economic setting into which it was projected. In addition to these introductions are provided analyses of the longer speeches in which the speaker's arguments are summarized and the salient features of style, arrangement, and invention commented upon.

The footnotes appended to the texts are both explanatory and critical. Here he points out excellences of style, calls attention to strategy and technique, corrects inaccuracies of statement, fills in historical background, explains and translates classical allusions. Now he calls attention to Chatham's technique of criticizing individuals by implication, or points up an example of Burke's close reasoning. Now he singles out one of Fox's characteristic "side blows," or shows how he turns defense into attack. Together, these notes constitute a running commentary on the speeches, supplied by a skilled rhetorician with a thorough knowledge of history.

Chauncey Goodrich wrote systematic, balanced criticism which took into consideration each of the classical divisions of rhetoric: invention, arrangement, style, and delivery. He saw the orator not as an individual performer but as an instrument of public policy, doing business, advancing causes, getting things done by his speaking. As a critic his focus was upon the larger drama of public affairs rather than the minor dramas of personal triumph. He did not look upon the speaker's art as acting, or spell-binding or creating literature. He viewed public speaking as a specialized method of communicating ideas by language. He understood the importance of analyzing each of the elements of the speaking situation: the subject, the audience, the occasion, and the speaker himself. Goodrich's criticism is the product of his application of a comprehensive rhetorical theory, largely classical in

origin, to the practice of public speaking. He was, in the best modern sense of the term, a competent, discerning "rhetorical critic."

Miscellaneous Anthologies.—Although no other anthologist of the period achieved anything approaching the critical excellence of Goodrich, several are of sufficient importance to merit brief mention. Approximately one-third of the anthologies examined follow Goodrich in introducing each new speaker and/or speech with some kind of sketch or memoir. These sketches are usually quite brief, and are predominately biographical and historical. Sometimes, as in Charles Kendall Adams' three volumes of *Representative British Orations*,⁵⁸ the speeches, rather than the speakers, are featured in the criticism. Adams considers (1) the political situation involved in the discussion, and (2) the right of the orator to be heard. The speaker, therefore, is not neglected, but the focus is always on the speech as a vehicle of ideas which changed history. The more customary procedure is that followed by Julian Hawthorne in *Orations of British Orators*.⁵⁹ Hawthorne has little to say about the speech; his emphasis is upon the man. His sketches, though brief, are reasonable, restrained evaluations. His plan of criticism is this:

1. A brief characterization of the man.
2. Biographical data emphasizing training, reading, and public life.
3. Causes, themes, issues with which he was associated.
4. A few sentences on his manner of speaking.

In *Orations of American Orators*,⁶⁰ Hawthorne adds to the above points some background material for the more important speeches.

The most detailed and, generally

⁵⁸ New York, 1890.

⁵⁹ "The World's Great Classics" (New York, 1900).

⁶⁰ "The World's Great Classics" (New York, 1900).

speaking, the best introductory sketches are to be found in Justice David Brewer's *World's Best Orations*.⁶¹ As a rule, they seem to treat the man as an historical figure, rather than as an orator. It is difficult to generalize, however, for these sketches, written by several individuals, differ widely. Those on Beecher and Blaine, for example, are concerned almost exclusively with speech manner and style. The sketches of Bright and Benton are historical and political, that on McKinley entirely biographical, while Lincoln is introduced with an essay on the man as representative of the dominant idea of his times. The longest and most competent essays are signed "W.V.B." and were probably written by William V. Byars, journalist and author of a handbook of oratory. They all follow essentially the same pattern, which includes a characterization of the man and his oratory, quotations from his speeches, historical background, reference to his main speeches, and a short biography.

Four of the largest anthologies (each of them ten volumes or more) include a number of critical or historical essays in addition to sketches of individual orators. Brewer's associate editors discuss "The Oratory of Anglo-Saxon Countries," and "The Orator's Training in America." Each volume of Guy Carleton Lee's *World Orators*⁶² contains an essay on the period of oratory therein illustrated. In T. B. Reed's fifteen-volume *Modern Eloquence*⁶³ are twelve "introductions and special articles," written by selected experts on speaking. Lorenzo Sears writes on "After-Dinner Speaking" and "The History of Oratory;" H. W. Mabie discusses "The Literary Address"; and Senators Beveridge,

Hoar, and Dolliver all contribute articles. As might perhaps be expected, these essays are often more expository than critical.

Chauncey Depew's *Library of Oratory*⁶⁴ offers critical essays in a unique manner. Volume fifteen is devoted in its entirety to fulfilling the promise made on the title page. "With Critical Studies of the World's Great Orators by Eminent Essayists." An entire volume of critical studies of orators is sufficiently unusual to cause the reader to examine it with some eagerness. One soon discovers, however, that it is a motley of articles collected from various sources simply because they happen to have been written about men whose speeches appear in the first fourteen volumes. Only the essays on Phillips and Theodore Roosevelt consider the orator as an orator. There is nothing on Burke's speaking in Godkin's essay; Sheridan is a writer of comedies; Emerson is the American Wordsworth; Calhoun a writer of political philosophy. Though possibly the work of "eminent essayists," these most certainly are not, as advertised, "critical studies of great orators."

Histories of Oratory

The revival of interest in oratory during the closing years of the nineteenth century produced, in addition to many anthologies of speeches, two histories of oratory. Both were published in the same year, 1896. Lorenzo Sears' *History of Oratory* was the first to appear, and Henry Hardwicke's *History of Oratory and Orators* followed shortly after.

Sears' aim, as outlined in his preface, is "to give only a brief account of each typical orator's place in the long succession, to note the rhetorical principles that he exemplified, and to observe the trend of eloquence in the several pe-

⁶¹ St. Louis, 1901.

⁶² New York, 1900-01.

⁶³ Philadelphia, 1900-03.

⁶⁴ New York, 1902.

riods. . . ."⁶⁵ The first part of the book is more truly a history than the last. In tracing the "trend of eloquence" in ancient times he manages to maintain a continuity which is lacking in the discussion of modern oratory. The sections on British and American orators tend to become a series of discrete essays. His principles of selection and allotment of space seem to be without justification: Sumner, Phillips, and Curtis each receive a full chapter; Calhoun gets three pages; Clay, six. The criticism follows no particular pattern: the chapter on Cicero is concerned largely with style; those on Chatham and Burke suggest in addition the great issues with which the men were associated.

Hardwicke's work, while it is more simply organized and does not waste valuable space on rhetoricians and minor medieval preachers, is nevertheless inferior to Sears'. It is packed with material quoted from earlier commentaries. With the exception of a few paragraphs, the entire chapter on "Modern Oratory"⁶⁶ is quoted. The criticisms of British orators are highly indebted to Goodrich for their substance.^{⁶⁷} Furthermore, for a sober historian of oratory, Hardwicke ladles out the superlatives with a far too lavish hand. Each speaker discussed is more remarkable than the last, and rare indeed is the man who is not described as one of the most extraordinary orators, or debaters, or extemporaneous speakers, that ever lived. A final shortcoming is Hardwicke's lack of any critical method. The work shows little continuity, and the individual essays are miserably organized. The writer throws together a mass of im-

portant and unimportant material in a helter-skelter fashion with no sense of discrimination. The quoted matter is often introduced abruptly and for no discernible purpose.

The way in which these two historians worked may be illustrated by reference to their treatment of Daniel Webster. Hardwicke's essay is a jumble of quoted material which he has not even bothered to tie together or comment upon. It is made up of lengthy excerpts from Webster's speeches, descriptions of the orator by Carlyle and a Miss Mary Mitford, a quoted description of Hayne, a quoted account of the famous "Reply," a quoted death-bed scene, and word-pictures of Webster quoted from people who had heard him speak. Sears' sketch, which contains almost no quoted comment, is essentially an attempt to trace the development of Webster's style, and to present the chief characteristics of his eloquence by reference to individual speeches. It provides considerably more insight in half the space.

In dealing with the "Reply to Hayne," Hardwicke quotes eight consecutive pages from March's *Reminiscences of Congress*, then adds a few comments of his own designed to prove that the doctrine of nullification did not originate with Calhoun. Sears sets the scene rapidly and vividly without aid from Mr. March. Then, in five pages, he makes an excellent rhetorical analysis of the speech—commenting on the exordium, outlining the main arguments, noting how Webster met the opposing claims, illustrating his command of allusion, analyzing the nature of his appeals, pointing out the types of reasoning used.

Of the two histories of oratory, Sears' is unquestionably superior. It is not first-rate criticism by any means; it has many limitations. But it has at least the virtue of being written in Sears' own

⁶⁵ Sears, Lorenzo, *The History of Oratory* (Chicago, 1896), Preface, p. 4.

⁶⁶ Hardwicke, Henry, *History of Oratory and Orators* (New York, 1896), pp. 70-87.

⁶⁷ Sears also borrows from Goodrich, and with less specific acknowledgment.

words, and it covers a wide range of critical topics, dealing here and there with such matters as: speech settings, issues involved, methods of preparation, arrangement of ideas, management of argument, style, nature of appeals, and mode of delivery. It is a pioneer attempt at recording the history of oratory.

Critical Sketches of Orators

It remains to mention four works which consist largely of critical sketches of selected representative speakers. Despite individual differences, these works have several important characteristics in common. In the first place, the criticism of all four writers is directed toward the speaker as a man, often to the complete exclusion of his speech. It is criticism of personalities, not of ideas or lines of argument. Secondly, except for an obvious desire to portray speakers as magnificent public performers, no guiding philosophy or principle underlies the criticism. It is predominately impressionistic, with critical standards only vaguely implied. Finally, the comment is concerned almost exclusively with matters of biography, delivery, and style. Arrangement and the whole field of invention are treated incidentally, if at all. In short, this is *speaker-centered criticism*; the orator's character, talent, personal appearance, command of language, and bodily action receive primary attention.

E. L. Magoon.—In *Orators of the American Revolution*, Magoon undertakes to supply the need for "a critical and comprehensive examination of our great orators as such."⁶⁸ After an introductory chapter on "The Battlefields of Early American Eloquence," he discusses fourteen speakers. His conception of what constitutes a critical and com-

prehensive examination is embodied in the following pattern: (1) biographical details; (2) main events of the speaker's public life; (3) list of personal qualities; (4) appearance, platform manner; (5) characterization of his eloquence.

These sketches are seldom either comprehensive or critical. They are permeated with wide-eyed wonder and admiration. Magoon is a devotee of the oratory of bursts and flashes. He thinks of the noblest oratory as a collection of high emotional moments, spontaneous outbursts of powerful feeling which fascinate and enthrall the audience. His enthusiasm for thunder-bolts, lightning flashes, and splendid, luxuriant imagery leads him to adopt these techniques in his writing. Richard Henry Lee's eloquence, we are told, "was like a beautiful river, meandering through variegated and elegant scenes. . . ."⁶⁹ And of Fisher Ames we learn:

He assumed diversified forms and hues with Protean facility. Now he skims the ground and obscures himself in smoke; anon he darts through the empyrean with coruscations of flame, and with resplendent light illuminates the waters, the earth and the heavens.⁷⁰

Such passages are undeniably picturesque, but they supply little insight into the speaking of these men, which is presumably the purpose for which they were written.

Another feature of Magoon's critical method is his generous use of comparisons and transposed quotations. He is forever being reminded of events which occurred in antiquity or eighteenth-century England, and applying what was said of Cicero or Burke to the speaker he is discussing. Samuel Adams' puritanism reminds him of something Grattan once said of Fox. Some speakers make him think of the "Apollo Belvi-

⁶⁸ Magoon, E. L., *Orators of the American Revolution* (New York, 1848), Preface, xiii.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

dere seen in a wintry morning, glittering all over with frost." Although the comparative method, when judiciously used, is extremely effective, Magoon's comparisons are often so strained and his excursions into classical lore so extensive and gratuitous that they are easily recognized as inept displays of erudition.

In his second book, *Living Orators in America*,⁷¹ Magoon presents contemporary speakers as each possessing a particular kind of eloquence, the chief constituents of which the writer attempts to isolate and illustrate. The critical pattern is essentially the same as in the earlier work, each sketch following a three-point plan slavishly and monotonously. Unlike its predecessor, this book contains purple passages from the orator's speeches. Although more restrained than the earlier work, *Living Orators* is weakened by the same faults of exaggerated deference to its subjects, gratuitous parading of classical allusions, and preoccupation with style and biographical minutiae.

The most fundamental charge that can be brought against this critic is that he impresses us as a man whose word is not to be trusted. Despite frequent references to "the simple majesty of truth," and "the resistless tide of arguments," despite the insistence upon weeding out mere prettiness, one feels that he does not really mean what he is saying. One suspects that he is in love with flashes of fire and sudden bursts that carry all before them, that he is charmed by imagery which lulls the brain into willing acquiescence. One does not question his enthusiasm for the orators who won and helped secure American freedom, his ability to fill in a sometimes unavoidably bare outline of fact with details conjured up by an unusually fertile im-

agination, his occasional success in presenting a vivid picture of an orator in action. But his entire critical method repudiates the noble theory of eloquence based on truth and reason which he professes, and therein lies his most serious weakness.

David A. Harsha.—Harsha's *Most Eminent Orators and Statesmen of Ancient and Modern Times*⁷² offers "historical and critical sketches" of men eminent as orators and statesmen, together with "graceful passages" selected from their speeches. Whatever is "critical" in these sketches is borrowed from some other source. Actually, the only part of the book not enclosed in quotation marks is the purely biographical material. When it comes to making judgments, or even setting the scene for a speech, Harsha steps courteously aside in favor of someone else who has expressed the matter so beautifully that he "cannot resist quoting in full."

Like so many of those whose words he quotes, Harsha manifests an awe-struck respect for his subjects. A later writer says of him, "He has the admirable faculty of reverencing greatness, and it enables him to draw those life-like portraits which are the despair of mere criticism."⁷³ This is one point of view. However, some readers, surfeited with superlatives, will long for the drab accuracy of "mere criticism."

In assessing the work of Harsha, his two-fold purpose, criticism of orators and collection of gems of eloquence, must be taken into consideration. As a critic he can lay no claim to originality; as a collector he is more successful. In assembling selected comment by men who had seen these speakers in action, together with examples of what he con-

⁷² Philadelphia, 1854.

⁷³ Byars, W. V., *Handbook of Oratory* (St. Louis, 1901), p. 313.

ceived to be oratory at its stylistic best, Harsha undoubtedly performed a service which, at the time at least, was worth undertaking. Moreover, despite the fact that his conception of eloquence as a series of elegant extracts tends to cause him to lose sight of the very purpose for which the speech was intended, he does manage in his biographical narratives to indicate more clearly than Magoon, for example, the causes with which the orator's were identified. But he remains fundamentally an editor, not an author. *Orators and Statesmen* is a remarkable collection of purple patches and purple criticism, which provides a vivid picture of certain limited aspects of the oratory of eminent statesmen.

William Mathews.—The first half of Mathews' *Oratory and Orators*⁷⁴ contains extended discussions of such topics as the power, influence, and qualifications of the orator and the nature of eloquence. These early chapters are in reality a synthesis of the ideas of numerous writers, but except for prefatory mention of indebtedness to "nearly all the writers on oratory," there is little identification of sources. Without attempting to determine at what point eclecticism shades into plagiarism, it might be pointed out that the last third of the chapter on "Is Oratory a Lost Art?" is borrowed directly from E. T. Channing's Boylston lectures.⁷⁵ The ideas are taken up in the same order interlarded with illustrations borrowed elsewhere. The only indication of indebtedness is the clause "it has been truly said," casually inserted in the middle of a sentence. This is but a single example of a practice which is carried on throughout the book.

The practice of indiscriminate eclecticism often leads Mathews into basic

contradictions. When passages are copied from various sources and juxtaposed with no attempt at integration, inconsistencies may be expected. For example, he writes one chapter celebrating the transcendent power of the orator, the enchanter who works miracles with his "necromantic power," the fiery genius who works up his audience into such a state that they are unable to think. He then follows it with another chapter in which he presents seriously as his own, Channing's assertions that the modern speaker seeks not to gain ascendancy over an enthralled multitude, nor to gain power for himself, but to see what eloquence can do for the question. After a few such reversals, the confused reader loses faith in his author.

The second half of the book contains Mathews' criticism of individual speakers. The sketches are brief, amorphous, and impressionistic. None contains any substantial discussion of the issues with which the orator was associated, or any critical analysis of his speeches. The longest essay of the group, that on Webster, gives no clue as to what was going on in the world in which he lived, whom he talked to, or what he talked about. Except for a reference to "the thunders of Nullification" which "muttered in the distance," the writer fails to give any hint of what it was to which this orator of the massive intellect applied his intellect. Like Magoon and Harsha, Mathews centers his attention solely upon the speaker—his training, his talents, and his triumphs.

E. G. Parker.—"The age of the heroes is over, and the age for their statues is come," writes Parker in his *Golden Age of American Oratory*.⁷⁶ This book is intended as a monument to some of those heroes. The "golden age" referred to in the title is the century between 1757 and

⁷⁴ Chicago, 1879.

⁷⁵ See Channing, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-25.

⁷⁶ (Boston, 1857), p. 4.

1857, embracing the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the period of expansion and manifest destiny. Parker writes of the oratory of Congress, the bar, and the platform, discussing a total of nine representative speakers. No Revolutionary orators are described "because such a description now must be, at best, only a second-hand copy of their traditional lineaments." His subjects are (with the exception of Ames and Pinckney) speakers to whom he had frequently listened, some of whom he knew personally. He writes, then, as an enthusiastic spectator, a self-styled connoisseur of public speaking.

Parker's method is to determine the main source of the orator's strength, and then to devote the bulk of his comment to analyzing it. He usually closes the essay with a description of the orator's delivery, picturing the man as he appeared to his listeners. Speakers are divided into three main types: the Websterian orator of the intellect, the polished rhetorician, and the orator of character and manner. Parker's own favorite is the "natural orator," who is apparently identical with the orator of character and manner. Chatham, Clay, and Henry were all natural orators. Having classified an orator, he then attempts to adapt his criticism to the particular type. When discussing Edward Everett, a "rhetorician," he dwells at length upon "the elaborate finish and beauty of his composition." But in analyzing "natural orators" like Clay, he insists that "we must study *the men*, not the speeches; we must look at *character*, rather than culture."⁷⁷

It is interesting to find that Parker's eye-witness accounts of orators in action often contain all the superlatives, figurative language, and breathless adoration which are found in the writings

of men who relied principally upon fertile imaginations for their word pictures. But he was also capable of more moderate writing, as his vivid portrayal of Everett's delivery demonstrates.⁷⁸ Occasionally, also, he displays an insight unusual among this group of critics, as when he portrays Webster as the great political lawyer whose client was his country. It is pointed out that Webster contended for constitutions, institutions, and organizations, rather than for persons as persons or principles as principles. Accordingly, says this critic,

...men will read Webster as they are interested in the Republic of America, and in the political "cases," which sprang up in the course of his checkered career. They will not read him, because they are interested in the human mind or in man; and in the political "cases" of all humanity, independent of country or of age.⁷⁹

Unlike the other members of this group of impressionistic critics, Parker sometimes shows signs of being able to view the speaker as something more than a stimulating performer on a small stage. In the sketch of Fisher Ames he shows a momentary interest in, and understanding of, the orator's relation to political and social thought currents.⁸⁰ And in his introductory chapter he notes the reciprocal relationship between an age and its leaders. But in spite of an occasional disposition to view the orator in relation to the social and political milieu, in spite of a better than average insight into character and situation, E.G. Parker belongs among those critics who look upon the speaker as a splendid actor in the splendid drama of influencing the passions of men, and whose comment is devoted in the main to analyzing his histrionic techniques.

CONCLUSION

The second half of the nineteenth century yielded a substantial body of com-

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-281.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

ment upon speaking and speakers written by some of the most distinguished literary and professional men of the time. Investigation discloses several hundred items, ranging from brief articles to complete volumes. It is possible, of course, to consider such a mass of comment from many angles, and to draw many interesting conclusions. It would be profitable, for example, to enumerate the themes recurrent in the literature, or to speculate upon the social attitudes revealed.⁸¹ But all this lies beyond the limits of the present study, which seeks only to identify the major critics and briefly to analyze and evaluate their work.

Perhaps most representative of the bulk of the criticism of the period was the group for which Magoon, Harsha, Mathews, and Parker were the most articulate spokesmen. Like many contributors to periodicals and anthologies, these men were preoccupied with the dramatic aspects of speaking, with voice and physical action. Their criticism is subjective and impressionistic. They have no clearly defined standards of judgment. Their writings are more descriptive and analytical than evaluative. Too often their "critical sketches" come closer to appreciation than criticism.

But there were others whose writing is more judicious in tone and more systematic in method. Among the critics of individual speakers Chauncey Goodrich unquestionably produced the most complete rhetorical criticism, judged by present-day standards. Writing at a time when the tendency was to think of speaking as a grand performance, Goodrich saw the orator as a transactor of public business, whose speeches, to be

⁸¹ See Baskerville, Barnet, "A Study of American Criticism of Public Address, 1850-1900," Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1948.

fully understood, must be viewed against a background of events. Whipple, though primarily a literary critic, brought to the study of speaking an objectivity and a questioning spirit. He viewed the orator as an important expression of the national mind. Although Emerson, Godkin, and Channing did not write "critical sketches" of orators, they were nevertheless critics of speaking. Emerson's emphasis was moral; he was interested above all in the speaker's relation to truth. Godkin stressed the social responsibility of the orator, as did Channing, who insisted that the speaker should not rule, but be ruled by his audience.

Taken in the mass, the comment reveals a widespread and enthusiastic interest in oratory. The lavish encomium heaped upon "eloquence" and the reverence shown for the great orators testify to the fact that the orator was regarded as one of the prominent figures in American life. It is true that there is some energetic disparagement of oratory, but the prevailing note is one of veneration. There seem to be relatively few instances of the "literary" approach to speaking. This is somewhat surprising in view of the impression now current that "literary" rather than "rhetorical" standards have too often been used in evaluating speakers. Yet the majority of the critics of this period appear to agree with T.W. Higginson that "Oratory and literature still remain two distinct methods of utterance. . . . Their methods, their results, and their rewards, are wholly different."

In all the critical literature there is an almost complete absence of appraisal of critical method. Such lack of speculation as to what criticism should be seems to indicate that critics of speaking had not yet become self-conscious. Men

wrote of orators because it pleased them to do so; some worked with definite critical standards in mind; but few showed any active interest in the criticism of

criticism. Formulation of specific criteria, conscious efforts to establish a science of rhetorical criticism in America were to come in a later period.

THE DRAMATIC CRITERIA OF GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

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IN June, 1897, toward the end of his third season as regular drama critic on the staff of the London periodical, *The Saturday Review*, George Bernard Shaw reviewed a collection of critical essays by his contemporary, William Archer, and in this article he contrasted the methods of some of the leading journalist drama critics of the period. He declared that, in terms of permanent interest to future readers, William Archer's criticism was superior to the rest by virtue of his "steady adherence to an unvarying ideal standard," a method which he presumably did not share with Clement Scott, Arthur Bingham Walkley, or Shaw himself. Consequently, Archer's criticism would be reprinted and read with interest, Shaw predicted, when he and the other critics of the day were "buried in extinct newspapers and happily forgotten."¹

However accurate this prophecy may have been as it applied to the work of Scott and Walkley, it was not true of Shaw's own essays, which, rather than remaining "buried" in the journal in which they originally appeared, have been twice reprinted.² They are still read with interest by students of the theatre, many of whom would probably agree with A. C. Ward's description of Shaw's criticism as "undoubtedly the most satisfying as well as the most brilliant in the English language."³

¹ G. B. S., "Quickwit on Blockhead," *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science, and Art*, LXXXIII (June 5, 1897), 634.

² Shaw, Bernard, *Dramatic Opinions and Essays*, ed. James Huneker (New York, 1906), 2 v. Shaw, *Our Theatres in the Nineties* (London, 1931), 3 v.

³ *Specimens of English Dramatic Criticism, XVII-XX Centuries*, ed. A. C. Ward "The World's Classics" (London, 1945), p. 14.

This study does not attempt to evaluate Shaw's criticism; it represents, rather, an effort to solve a problem which is logically prior to an estimate of Shaw's ability as a critic, that of identifying the specific criteria which he employed. An analysis of the nature of these criteria derives particular interest from the fact of Shaw's personal achievement as a playwright. Although written at a time when his own career as a dramatist had scarcely begun, Shaw's articles reveal a general tendency to approach his critical task from the playwright's point of view. While his comments on acting, staging, and scenic design are those of an astute and well-informed critic of the technical aspects of theatre, these comments, as they appear in his weekly reviews, are generally distinct from, and subordinate to, his criticism of each play as a piece of dramaturgy. It is to Shaw's criticism of the play itself, exclusive of his comments on the specific production, that the present study is limited.

Shaw's career as drama critic for the *Saturday Review* extended over a period of more than three years, from January, 1895, to May, 1898, during which he reviewed a total of one hundred and eighty-seven different full-length plays. The great majority of these were presented in regular commercial productions at West End London theatres; some were produced by experimental or amateur groups, and a few were presented by foreign acting companies appearing in London. Although it is Shaw's criticism of Shakespeare and Ibsen which has attracted most subsequent attention, it is well to remember that he also re-

viewed the work, not only of the leading dramatists of the period—Pinero, Jones, Sydney Grundy, Sir James Barrie—but of the many playwrights who achieved only temporary renown.

To this fairly extensive and varied body of material Shaw applied a critical method which was, despite some apparent contradictions, remarkably single-minded. Whether the play under consideration was a Shakespearean tragedy, a thesis play by Ibsen, or one of the many trivial and long since forgotten farce comedies of the period, Shaw's point of view was fundamentally consistent, a characteristic to which he himself attested in the foreword which appeared in the first reprinting of his essays, in which he warned the reader that "what he is about to study is not a series of judgments aiming at impartiality, but a siege laid to the theatre of the XIXth Century by an author who had to cut his own way into it at the point of a pen, and throw some of its defenders into the moat." To the question "what merit have these essays to justify their republication?" Shaw replied, "Well, they contain something like a body of doctrine, because when I criticized I really did know definitely what I wanted."⁴

Shaw's criteria are nowhere explicitly set forth; as is usually true of criticism of any kind, they are implicit in the value judgments and are revealed by the terms in which the critic has expressed his opinions. A further passage from Shaw's "apology" does, however, provide a clue to the general nature of his standard:

Only the ablest critics believe that the theatre is really important: in my time none of them would claim for it, as I claimed for it, that it is as important as the Church was in the Middle Ages and much more important than the Church was in London in the years under review. A

theatre to me is a place "where two or three are gathered together." . . . When I wrote, I was well aware of what an unofficial census of Sunday worshippers presently proved: that church-going in London has been largely replaced by playgoing. This would be a very good thing if the theatre took itself seriously as a factory of thought, a prompter of conscience, an elucidator of social conduct, an armory against despair and dulness, and a temple of the Ascent of Man. I took it seriously in that way, and preached about it instead of merely chronicling its news and alternately petting and snubbing it as a licentious but privileged form of public entertainment.⁵

These comments emphasize the essential seriousness with which Shaw regarded the theatre, a characteristic which it is important to recognize at the outset and which possibly has been obscured by the cleverness of his wit. The passage indicates that Shaw's interest in the drama as an art form worthy of serious consideration rests on an aesthetic doctrine which is essentially didactic; a theory which implies that the main purpose as well as the true measure of art is moral instruction rather than purely aesthetic pleasure; which would deny, in fact, that the genuine aesthetic experience is possible without ethical substance. This theory, implicit in all of Shaw's criticism, is specifically reiterated in many passages. Reviewing *The English Stage* by Augustin Filon, Shaw remonstrated against the "art for art's sake" doctrine of the French critic and restated his own:

... the theatre is also a response to our need for a sensible expression of our ideals and illusions and approvals and resentments. As such it is bound to affect our ideas, and finally our conduct, even to the extent of setting on foot the strangest functional adaptations in society to the morality it imposes on us through our imaginations.⁶

In view of his didactic theory of art, it is not surprising that Shaw, in decid-

⁴ Shaw, *Dramatic Opinions and Essays*, I, xxii.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxiii.

⁶ G. B. S., "Quickwit on Blockhead," *Saturday Review*, LXXXIII (June 5, 1897), 633.

ing the worth of a given play, should have concentrated his attention primarily on the nature of the ideas which the dramatist, in Shaw's interpretation, had either tacitly or explicitly endorsed. In many instances Shaw's review of a play is essentially a scrutiny of the social or moral implications of its thought element. A striking example of this practice appears in the two following passages. The first is an excerpt from Shaw's review of Ibsen's *Ghosts*, as performed by the Independent Theatre in June, 1897:

Mrs. Alving is not anybody in particular: she is a typical figure of the experienced, intelligent woman who, in passing from the first to the last quarter of the hour of history called the nineteenth century, has discovered how appallingly opportunities were wasted, morals perverted, and instincts corrupted, not only—sometimes not at all—by the vices she was taught to abhor in her youth, but by the virtues it was her pride and uprightness to maintain.⁷

The next is a passage from Shaw's criticism of Echegaray's *The Son of Don Juan*:

In spite of the line "Give me the sun, mother," for which Echegaray acknowledges his indebtedness to Ibsen, there is not in it a shadow of the peculiar moral attitude of Ibsen. Echegaray remorselessly fixes all the responsibility on Don Juan (Alving), who is as resolutely vicious as Shelley's Count Cenci. Ibsen, on the contrary, after representing Mrs. Alving as having for years imputed her late husband's vices to his own wilful dissoluteness, brings home to her the conviction that it was really she herself and her fellow Puritans who, by stamping men and women of Alving's temperament into the gutter, and imposing shame and disease on them as their natural heritage, had made the ruin into which Alving fell. . . . There is not the slightest trace of this inculpation of respectability and virtue in "The Son of Don Juan." . . . The story has been taken on to new ground nationally, and back to old ground morally. . . . Ibsen never presents his play to you as a romance for your entertainment: he says, in effect, "Here is yourself and myself, our society, our civilization. The evil and good, the horror

⁷ G. B. S., "'Ghosts' at the Jubilee," *ibid.*, LXXXIV (July 3, 1897), 12.

and the hope of it, are woven out of your life and mine." There is no more of that sort of conscience about Echegaray's plays than there is about "Hernani," or, for the matter of that, "The Babes in the Woods."⁸

It is clear that Shaw judged the two plays in terms of the ideas which he believed had been expressed in each of them. The superiority of Ibsen's ideas over Echegaray's consisted, according to Shaw, in Ibsen's demonstration that what was by conventional moral standards accounted as virtue had been responsible for very evil consequences, that is to say, in Ibsen's pointed criticism of conventional morality. It was this element that Shaw looked for in vain in *The Son of Don Juan*; he missed "the peculiar moral attitude of Ibsen." It was in these terms and on this basis that Shaw chose to examine the two plays, and by this standard that he disparaged the work of Echegaray and praised that of Ibsen.

This is not the case merely because the two plays are similar in plot structure; it is a critical practice which recurred in Shaw's criticism in situations where no such parallel existed, and was applied to plays of which it is more obvious even than in the case of Echegaray that moral criticism of the type which Shaw admired was not at all the playwright's concern. In his reviews of Ibsen's plays which appeared in the *Saturday Review*, as earlier in *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, Shaw examined the plays in terms of their element of moral criticism, recognized in Ibsen an uncompromising and revolutionary moralist, and on this basis acclaimed his greatness as a dramatist.⁹ The same standard

⁸ G. B. S., "Spanish Tragedy and English Farce," *ibid.*, LXXIX (Apr. 27, 1895), 548.

⁹ Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism* (New York, 1913). Cf. G. B. S., "The New Ibsen Play," *Saturday Review*, LXXXII (Jan. 30, 1897), 114; and "England's Delicate Compliment to Ibsen," *ibid.*, LXXXV (Mar. 26, 1898), 428-429.

was extended to the criticism of other dramatists whose aims (even assuming that Shaw was accurate in his analysis of Ibsen's aims) were not similar to those of Ibsen.

It is interesting to note that the iconoclastic position on moral issues which Shaw championed was an attitude which he described as "modern." The term occurs so frequently in Shaw's criticism that it is well to clarify his meaning by reference to the following passage:

The notion that when conduct conflicts with creed, the question as to which of the two is in the wrong is an open one—that it is not alone humanity that is constantly on its trial, but the ethical, political, and religious systems that claim implicit obedience from humanity—that a deliberate violation of these systems may be, not a weakness to be pitied and pardoned, but an assertion of human worth to be championed and carried to victory in the teeth of all constitutions, churches, principles, and ideals whatsoever: this . . . explains all that is peculiar in the attitude of the modern movement. . . .¹⁰

Among the "systems" the validity of which Shaw (and, in Shaw's opinion, Ibsen) attacked, were the institution of marriage as conventionally constituted, the traditional assumption of the inequality of the sexes, and the double standard of morality applied to sexual conduct—all that was implied, in the 1890's, in the expression "the Woman Question." Shaw's personal opinions on this subject, which he later expounded through the medium of his own plays, became the point of attack by which he criticized the work of other dramatists. Disregarding the playwright's intention, Shaw also failed to take into consideration, when it suited his purpose, the historical background of the play. Reviewing a production of *All's Well that Ends Well*, Shaw commented:

¹⁰ G. B. S., "G. B. S. on Clement Scott," *Saturday Review*, LXXXI (May 30, 1896), 549.

Among Shakespeare's earlier plays, "All's Well that Ends Well" stands out . . . intellectually by the experiment, repeated nearly three hundred years later in "A Doll's House," of making the hero a perfectly ordinary young man, whose unimaginative prejudices and selfish conventionality make him cut a very fine mean figure in the atmosphere created by the nobler nature of his wife.¹¹

It is significant that the comment was repeated, with elaboration, in a later article, in the course of some remarks on Shakespeare's characters:

Once or twice we scent among them an anticipation of the crudest side of Ibsen's polemics on the Woman Question, as in "All's Well that Ends Well," where the man cuts as meanly selfish a figure beside his enlightened lady doctor wife as Helmer beside Nora; or in "Cymbeline," where Posthumus, having, as he believes, killed his wife for inconstancy, speculates for a moment on what his life would have been worth if the same standard of continence had been applied to himself.¹²

In his criticism of *The Taming of the Shrew* Shaw again referred to Shakespeare's stand on the Woman Question, but it was in this case not to congratulate him for having anticipated the modern attitude but to belabor him for reflecting the conventional one:

. . . the last scene is altogether disgusting to modern sensibility. No man with any decency of feeling can sit it out in the company of a woman without being extremely ashamed of the lord-of-creation moral implied in the wager and the speech put into the woman's own mouth.¹³

Astonishing, absurd, or irrelevant as this criticism may seem to the modern reader, it is fundamentally consistent with many other judgments, among them Shaw's declaration that Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* was dated "in point of morals" because "the women in the play are set apart and regarded

¹¹ G. B. S., "Poor Shakespeare!" *ibid.*, LXXIX (Feb. 2, 1895), 151.

¹² G. B. S., "Better than Shakespeare," *ibid.*, LXXXIII (Jan. 2, 1897), 11.

¹³ G. B. S., "Chin Chon Chino," *ibid.*, LXXXIV (Nov. 6, 1897), 489-490.

as absolutely outside the region of free judgment in which the men act," his main point of objection being the "caddishness" of Lady Teazle's conduct. "I cannot for the life of me see," Shaw objected, "why it is less dishonorable for a woman to kiss and tell than a man." He further insisted that modern audiences were "learning to drop the old fast-and-loose system of a masculine morality for the man and a feminine morality for the woman, and to apply instead a human standard impartially to both sexes." As a result, Shaw concluded, " 'The School for Scandal' dates on the Woman Question almost as badly as 'The Taming of the Shrew'."¹⁴

Here Shaw objected to the tacit assumption of the validity of a double standard of morality, even though that standard happened to operate, in this instance, in favor of the woman. In his comments on the play *King Arthur*, Shaw castigated the same "lord-of-creation" psychology which he found disagreeable in *The Taming of the Shrew*: That vision of a fine figure of a woman, torn with sobs and remorse, stretched at the feet of a nobly superior and deeply wronged lord of creation, is no doubt still as popular with the men whose sentimental vanity it flatters as it was in the days of "The Idylls of the King." But since then we have been learning that a woman is something more than a piece of sweet-stuff to fatten a man's emotions. . . . Mr. Comyns Carr miscalculated the spirit of the age on this point. . . .¹⁵

The final comment is characteristic; whenever a play appeared to endorse the assumption that woman is an inferior sex, it was classified by Shaw as inevitably and hopelessly dated or old-fashioned. In his final article of the season 1896-97, Shaw remarked ironically that the theatre had something on

¹⁴ G. B. S., "The Second Dating of Sheridan," *ibid.*, LXXXII (Jan. 2, 1897), 11.

¹⁵ G. B. S., "King Arthur," *ibid.*, LXXIX (Jan. 19, 1895), 94.

which to congratulate itself in having got as far as Dumas *père*, a playwright "hardly more than half a century behind our time in his ideas about womanhood, chivalry, and the like."¹⁶ It is scarcely surprising to note, in this connection, that Shaw campaigned for a production in English of Sudermann's *Heimat*, since the "main theme" of the play, in Shaw's words, was "the revolt of the modern woman against that ideal of home which exacts the sacrifice of her whole life to its care, not by its grace, and as its own sole help and refuge, but as a right which it has to the services of all females as abject slaves."¹⁷

In other criticisms Shaw expressed disapproval of plays in which the dramatist's point of view, as interpreted by Shaw, was in harmony with conventional standards of a more general nature. The ideas in these plays were also classified as dated. Typical of these is Shaw's criticism of Augier's *Le Mariage d'Olympe* which he reviewed in an English adaptation by Sydney Grundy:

Augier was a true bourgeois: when he observed a human impulse that ran counter to the habits of his class, it never occurred to him that it opened a question as to their universal propriety. To him those habits were "morality"; and what ran counter to them was "nostalgie de la boue." Accordingly the play is already a ridiculous inversion of moral order.¹⁸

Reviewing *The Liars* by Henry Arthur Jones, Shaw distinguished between certain features of the play which were commendable, and the ideas in it which he considered essentially dated:

The comedic sentiment of "The Liars" is from beginning to end one of affectionate contempt for women and friendly contempt for men, applied to their affairs with shrewd worldly common sense and much mollifying humor; whilst

¹⁶ G. B. S., "The Last Gasp of the Season," *ibid.*, LXXXIV (July 24, 1897), 86.

¹⁷ G. B. S., "Duse and Bernhardt," *ibid.*, LXXIX (June 15, 1895), 788.

¹⁸ G. B. S., "Robertson Redivivus," *ibid.*, LXXXIII (June 19, 1897), 686.

its essentially pious theology and its absolute conceptions of duty belong to a passionately anti-comedic conception of them as temples of the Holy Ghost. Its observations could only have been made today; its idealism might have been made yesterday; its reflections might have been made a long time ago.¹⁹

A similar distinction was drawn in the review of *Settled Out of Court*, by Estelle Burney, in which Shaw commented that one character "though drawn from a contemporary point of view, is morally judged from that of Sir Walter Scott," and added: "Our drama is getting fuller and fuller of this sort of confusion; for the daily observations of our dramatists keeps them up to date in personal descriptions, whilst there is nothing to force them to revise the morality they inherit from their grandmothers."²⁰

It was on the basis of his dated attitudes toward moral and social problems that Shaw frequently condemned the plays of Arthur Wing Pinero. In his review of *Trelawney of the Wells*, however, Shaw admitted that in this case Pinero had a legitimate excuse for reflecting old-fashioned ideas because the play was set in the 1860's, but he nevertheless included some remarks on that score:

... I cannot pretend to think that Mr. Pinero, in reverting to that period, has really had to turn back the clock as far as his own sympathies and ideals are concerned. It seems to me that the world is to him still the world of Johnny Eames and Lily Dale, Vincent Crummles and Newman Noggs. . . . That is why Mr. Pinero, as a critic of the advanced guard in modern life, is unendurable to me.²¹

While Shaw apparently seized every opportunity to point out the dated ideas in a play, he was equally alert to note the presence of "modern" ideas, if

only in a rudimentary form, as in his review of Oscar Wilde's *An Ideal Husband*, in which, Shaw wrote, "The modern note is struck in Sir Robert Chiltern's assertion of the individuality and courage of his wrong-doing as against the mechanical idealism of his stupidly good wife, and in his bitter criticism of a love that is only the reward of merit."²²

It would be possible to multiply examples, but it is evident that the terms in which Shaw frequently discussed a given play, and the criterion by which he judged its worth, was the presence or absence in it of ideas, described by him as "modern," which represented criticisms of conventional morality. Since there is, however, another sense in which Shaw examined and evaluated the thought element in a play, it would be incorrect to identify the foregoing as constituting in itself Shaw's major criterion. If Shaw's entire critical method rested on this standard alone, there would be ample justification for the following estimation of Shaw's critical practice by John Freeman:

His own claim is to deal with ideas. . . . The drama, he tells us authoritatively . . . can never be more than a play of ideas. This is true, in the precisest sense of the words, but I do not think Mr. Shaw is using them with the precision we expect from him. . . . If *Hamlet*, to take Mr. Shaw's favourite instance, is not a play of ideas, nor *Othello*, *Macbeth*, *The Winter's Tale*, nor *Troilus and Cressida*, then the term has no exact apprehensible meaning. . . .

But Mr. Shaw, as his prefaces and plays clearly show, does not mean ideas in this exact sense. He means ideas in the current loose sense. As a man has advanced "ideas" (meaning notions) upon marriage, divorce, submission to law, etc., so Mr. Shaw, himself restless with these ideas which are simply notions with a nicer name, can perceive no ideas but notions.²³

¹⁹ G. B. S., "At Several Theatres," *ibid.*, LXXXIV (Oct. 9, 1897), 388.

²⁰ G. B. S., "Alexander the Great," *ibid.*, LXXXIII (June 12, 1897), 658.

²¹ G. B. S., "Mr. Pinero's Past," *ibid.*, LXXXV (Feb. 5, 1898), 171.

²² G. B. S., "Two New Plays," *ibid.*, LXXIX (Jan. 12, 1895), 45.

²³ Freeman, John, *The Moderns. Essays in Literary Criticism* (New York, 1917), pp. 18-20.

The critical procedure which Freeman attributes to Shaw is not wholly inaccurate, but the absence in Shakespeare's plays of "modern ideas" or "advanced notions"—however they are designated—is not, as is implied, the only basis on which Shaw criticized Shakespeare. It is obviously not the criterion involved in the lengthy comparison of Shakespeare and Bunyan which occurs in Shaw's review of a dramatization of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in the course of which he sweepingly condemned the morality of Shakespearean characters.²⁴ Shakespeare, Shaw concluded, failed to strike Bunyan's "great vein," because he "never thought a noble life worth living or a great work worth doing, because the commercial profit-and-loss sheet showed that the one did not bring happiness nor the other money."²⁵ To Shaw, the fundamental difference between the lesser artist (Shakespeare) and the greater artist (Bunyan) was the difference between two philosophic attitudes: one, romantic pessimism, the outcome of evaluating life by utilitarian or rationalistic standards, and the other the "true heroic" attitude of optimism maintained in the face of a life's obstacles and achieved, in Bunyan's case, through Christian faith. The justifiable objection drawn by Hesketh Pearson that Shaw has in this and other passages committed the "error of condemning Shakespeare out of the mouths of his creation" is irrelevant to the present purpose, as it is also outside the scope of this investigation to attempt to identify the precise philosophic basis of Shaw's thinking.²⁶ Anyone who has studied Shaw's own plays and their prefaces will have recognized the extreme

eclecticism of his philosophy.²⁷ One can find, in Shaw's writing during the period 1895-98, along with statements that suggest the vitalistic theory which he was later to adopt and expound in *Back to Methuselah*, elements of humanitarianism and Rousseauistic individualism, outspoken attacks on both naturalism and romanticism, and, intermixed with these, statements which are apparent contradictions to some of these views. Of primary significance, as far as it affects his dramatic criteria, is Shaw's repeated assertion that the dramatist must reflect the idea that human life is essentially worth while, and his condemnation of any point of view which was, in his opinion, pessimistic and which tended to deny purpose to human life, whether on rationalistic or mechanistic grounds.

Characteristic of this type of criticism is Shaw's comment on *Hamlet*: "Hamlet" is the tragedy of private life—nay, of individual bachelor-poet life. It belongs to a detached residence, a select library, an exclusive circle, to no occupation, to fathomless boredom, to impenitent mugwumpism, to the illusion that the futility of these things is the futility of existence, and its contemplation philosophy: in short, to the dream-fed English gentlemanism of the age which Shakespeare inaugurated in English literature.²⁸

The pessimism which Shaw ascribed to Hamlet and other Shakespearean characters and attributed to their author was the principal target for his attacks on Shakespeare. As is suggested by the previous passage, Shaw insisted that a pessimistic attitude could not properly be termed a "philosophy"; consequently his criticisms of Shakespeare from this point of view frequently take the form of castigating Shakespeare's

²⁴ G. B. S., "Better than Shakespeare," *Saturday Review*, LXXXIII (Jan. 2, 1897), 11-12.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁶ Pearson, Hesketh, G. B. S., *A Full Length Portrait* (New York, 1942), p. 143.

²⁷ Cf. Ellehaugen, Martin, *The Position of Bernard Shaw in European Drama and Philosophy* (Copenhagen, 1931).

²⁸ G. B. S., "Tappertit on Julius Caesar," *Saturday Review*, LXXXV (Jan. 29, 1898), 139.

thinking as "sham" philosophy. In some instances Shaw credited Shakespeare with having recognized the meretriciousness of his philosophizing, and accused him of having practiced it to secure popularity. Thus Shaw declared: "It was in 'As You Like It' that the sententious William first began to openly exploit the fondness of the British Public for sham moralizing and stage 'philosophy' "²⁹ Shaw was particularly irritated by an attitude of condescension toward Touchstone which he detected in Jacques' speech beginning "A fool, a fool! I met a fool in the forest" His criticism was as follows:

Now, considering that this fool's platitude is precisely the "philosophy" of Hamlet, Macbeth ("Tomorrow and to-morrow and to-morrow," etc.), Prospero, and the rest of them, there is something unendurably aggravating in Shakespeare giving himself airs with Touchstone, as if he, the immortal, ever, even at his sublimest, had anything different or better to say himself.³⁰

Similarly, Shaw asserted that the intellectual content of Shakespeare's plays was admirably suited to children; concluding his review of *As You Like It*, he commented satirically: "The children will find the virtue of Adam and the philosophy of Jacques just the thing for them; whilst their elders will be delighted by the pageantry and the wrestling."³¹

In the passages of diatribe against the "Elizabethan literary rabble" that recur in Shaw's criticism, the most explicit point of objection is that their plays have "no ray of noble feeling, no touch of faith, beauty, or even common kindness in them from beginning to end."³² Shakespeare's successors Shaw

found less crude than his predecessors and contemporaries, but no more satisfactory as philosophers. Thus, although he described Beaumont and Fletcher as "cultivated amateurs" who had at least "been educated out of the possibility of writing 'Titus Andronicus,'" he condemned them because they possessed "no depth, no conviction, no religious or philosophic basis, no real power or seriousness."³³

Modern drama was subjected to criticism on the same grounds. Reviewing Pinero's *The Princess and the Butterfly* in the same article with Jones's *The Physician*, Shaw detected in both writers the same futile pessimism which he disliked in Shakespeare:

The moment their dramatic inventiveness flags, and they reach the sentimentally reflective interval between genuine creation and the breaking off work until next day, they fall back on the two great Shakespearean grievances—namely, that we cannot live forever and that life is not worth living. And then they strike up the old tunes—"Out, out, brief candle!" "Vanitas vanitatum," "To what end?" and so on.³⁴

These are a few of many passages in which Shaw employed as a criterion the presence or absence in a play of ideas which emphasize the essential worth of human life. This is in certain respects similar to Shaw's practice of evaluating a play in accordance with whether or not it represented, in his opinion, an attack upon conventional morality. The basis of judgment in each case is applied to the thought element in a play, and each of the attitudes which Shaw championed he has classified as "modern," for he has elsewhere maintained that it is by virtue of the development of modern philosophy that man is able to achieve a melioristic point of view which can be placed on a sound philo-

²⁹ G. B. S., "Toujours Shakespeare," *ibid.*, LXXXII (Dec. 5, 1896), 585.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 586.

³² G. B. S., "A New Lady Macbeth and a New Mrs. Ebbesmith," *Saturday Review*, LXXIX (May 25, 1895), 694.

³³ G. B. S., "Beaumont and Fletcher," *ibid.*, LXXXV (Feb. 19, 1898), 251.

³⁴ G. B. S., "Mr. Pinero on Turning Forty," *ibid.*, LXXXIII (Apr. 3, 1897), 349.

sophic basis.³⁵ The two standards have the further similarity that both iconoclasm and optimism are opposed to romanticism, in Shaw's interpretation of the latter term. Because of these similarities, it is possible to correlate them as two aspects of one standard, which can be termed Shaw's criterion of "modern ideas," and which is restated, in summary, as follows: Shaw judged a play, in certain cases, according to whether or not the ideas expressed in it represented, in his opinion, (1) attacks on conventional morality, or (2) affirmations of the worth of human life.

II.

When Shaw turned his attention to the elements of character and dialogue, or to the playwright's handling of dramatic technique, he employed a second criterion, which was also iconoclastic in the sense that it advocated a departure from what Shaw was convinced were the typical conditions of contemporary drama. Recurring throughout Shaw's criticism are expressions of disapproval of what he termed "staginess," and a series of comparisons between "stage life" and "real life." On the stage, Shaw declared, artificially simplified characters—mere "dolls"—were represented acting in mechanical obedience to certain arbitrary rules and conventions which were accepted in the theatre but which had no validity in real life. Shaw maintained that it was the duty of every drama critic to combat this tradition, but that the average critic was incapable of doing so because he had lost touch with the real world, having become so much the playgoer that only the conventions of "staginess" seemed real to him.³⁶

³⁵ G. B. S., "Hamlet," *ibid.*, LXXXIV (Oct. 2, 1897), 364. Cf. Shaw, *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, pp. 11-16.

³⁶ G. B. S., "Criticism on the Hustings," *Saturday Review*, LXXIX (July 20, 1895), 76.

Among these dramatic traditions, the validity of which Shaw attacked, was the depiction of romantic love as all-powerful and all-important. On this basis Shaw undertook to defend Henry James's play, *Guy Domville*:

The whole case against its adequacy really rests on its violation of the cardinal stage convention that love is the most irresistible of all the passions. Since most people go to the theatre to escape from reality, this convention is naturally dear to a world in which love, all powerful in the secret, unreal, day-dreaming life of the imagination, is in the real active life the abject slave of every trifling habit, prejudice, and cowardice, easily stifled by shyness, class feeling, and pecuniary prudence, or diverted from what is theatrically assumed to be its hurricane course by such obstacles as a thick ankle, a cockney accent, or an unfashionable hat. In the face of this, is it good sense to accuse Mr. Henry James of a want of grip of the realities of life because he gives us a hero who sacrifices his love to a strong and noble vocation for the Church?³⁷

Shaw had already witnessed a certain evolution away from the more obvious defects of the traditions of "staginess." A movement in the direction of greater realism had begun, according to Shaw, with Robertson's *Caste*, the revival of which, in 1897, Shaw acclaimed as "the revival of an epoch-making play after thirty years."³⁸ Reflecting on the original production, Shaw wrote: "After years of sham heroics and superhuman balderdash, 'Caste' delighted everyone by its freshness, its nature, its humanity." The play constituted only a "tiny revolution," however, and its merits were only relative, the positive advances consisting chiefly in the introduction of more naturalistic details in the physical stage environment and of a more colloquial quality in the dialogue. Robertson's brand of realism suffered

³⁷ G. B. S., "Two New Plays," *ibid.*, LXXIX (Jan. 12, 1895), 44.

³⁸ G. B. S., "Robertson Redivivus," *ibid.*, LXXXIII (June 19, 1897), 685.

from the limitation that his characters were still "very old stagers, very thinly humanized," and not "original studies from life."³⁹

That this was, to Shaw, a serious limitation is indicated by the frequency with which he made realistic characterization his point of attack in reviewing a play. While he occasionally admitted that a play might secure illusion or a character be credible without being, strictly speaking, realistic, Shaw often evaluated dramatic character and action by drawing a comparison with the conditions of real life. A typical and amusing example occurs in his review of Daly's play, *The Countess Gucki*:

The play, such as it is, begins with the entry of a gigantic coxcomb who lays siege to the ladies of the household in a manner meant by the dramatist to be engaging and interesting. In real life a barmaid would rebuke his intolerable gallantries: on the stage Miss Rehan is supposed to be fascinated by them.⁴⁰

When Shaw pointed to *The Taming of the Shrew* as a play in which Shakespeare had "started out" to write a "realistic" comedy, he based his opinion chiefly on the characterization of Petruchio, which he acclaimed as "worth fifty Orlandos as a human study."⁴¹ Although he maintained that the play had been ruined for modern audiences by the "lord-of-creation" sentiment of the last scene, Shaw approved of the version of a wooing which was, in his opinion, unconventional by theatrical standards but true to life, in that the hero was motivated by commercial interest rather than by romantic love. Because of this depiction of his behavior, Shaw further contended, the character of Petruchio was "an honest and masterly picture of

a real man, whose like we have all met."⁴² In short, Shaw called the play realistic and approved of it because he believed that the actions of the hero complied with the conditions of life rather than with the romantic traditions of the stage.

While Shaw often drew this comparison, in some cases he simply commented on the "unreality" of the characters or dismissed them as mere stock figures or conventions. Criticizing *As You Like It*, which he considered typical of Shakespeare's "popular style," Shaw objected that the characters were merely the broad types of conventional melodrama:

Rosalind is not a complete human being; she is simply an extension into five acts of the most affectionate, fortunate, delightful five minutes in the life of a charming woman. And all the other figures in the play are cognate impostures. Orlando, Adam, Jacques, Touchstone, the banished Duke and the rest play each the same tune all through. This is not human nature or dramatic character; it is juvenile lead, first old man, heavy lead, heavy father, principal comedian, and leading lady. . . . The Shakespearolators who are taken in by it do not know drama in the classical sense from "drama" in the technical Adelphi sense.⁴³

This was Shaw's objection to the characterization in Shakespeare's "popular style"; characters in those plays in which Shakespeare had made an effort to "hold the mirror up to nature," were, on the other hand, real life studies, a distinction Shaw drew when he declared that Othello's jealousy was not the "real article," which was to be found in *A Winter's Tale*, "where Leontes is an unmistakable study of a jealous man from life."⁴⁴

An example of the practice of condemning a character as a mere conven-

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 686.

⁴⁰ G. B. S., "Daly Undaunted," *Saturday Review*, LXXXII (July 18, 1896), 61.

⁴¹ G. B. S., "Chin Chon Chino," *ibid.*, LXXXIV (Nov. 6, 1897), 489.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ G. B. S., "At Several Theatres," *Saturday Review*, LXXXIV (Oct. 9, 1897), 388.

⁴⁴ G. B. S., "Mainly about Shakespeare," *ibid.*, LXXXIII (May 29, 1897), 604.

tion appears in Shaw's review of *Cheer, Boys, Cheer*, which followed, according to Shaw, a well-worn melodramatic formula, except for the introduction of more lavish spectacle and the omission of a few of the more hackneyed scenes and characters:

Otherwise the persons are the same—if one may be allowed to apply such a misleading word as persons to these conventional abstractions of gentility, virtue, innocence, vice, patriotism, and manliness. The personified natural forces who carry on the second act of Wagner's "Das Rheingold" are . . . much more human and individual than the characters in "Cheer, Boys, Cheer!" . . .⁴⁵

Similarly, Shaw condemned the characterization of the heroine of *Her Advocate*, who, Shaw maintained, "might just as well be represented by a lay figure with a phonograph in its mouth, a crying machine in its nose, and a label round its neck inscribed 'Hospital Nurse wrongfully accused of Murder.'"⁴⁶

Some characters Shaw considered to represent a certain improvement upon those which were mere conventions or automata; these were not "life studies," but they possessed a superficial naturalness by virtue of the dramatist's skill in "trait-mimicry." This was the method of characterization which he ascribed to Dumas *père*, among others. Of *A Marriage of Convenience*, an English adaptation of Dumas's *Mariage sous Louis XV*, Shaw wrote: "Its characterization is the trait-mimicry of Shakespeare and Scott, not the life-study of Balzac, Meredith, and Ibsen."⁴⁷ Beaumont and Fletcher, following Shakespeare, had also employed this method; they were "humorous character-sketchers in Shakespeare's popular style: that

⁴⁵ G. B. S., "Plays That Are No Plays," *ibid.*, LXXX (Oct. 5, 1895), 438.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

⁴⁷ G. B. S., "Alexander the Great," *ibid.*, LXXXIII (June 12, 1897), 657.

is, they neither knew nor cared anything about human psychology, but they could mimic the tricks and manners of their neighbors . . . in a highly entertaining way."⁴⁸

Often this criticism of dramatic character in terms of realism led to the assertion that many playwrights substituted romantic imagination, stimulated by literature and other works of art, for a direct observation of real life, and consequently created characters which were only figments of their day dreams. In his sharply disapproving review of Pinero's *The Notorious Mrs. Ebbesmith*, Shaw objected to the "unreality of the chief female character," a defect which he ascribed to the author's total unfamiliarity with the modern "platform woman," and concluded by advising Pinero to supplement his imagination with some acquaintance with real life.⁴⁹ Reviewing Pinero's later play, *The Benefit of the Doubt*, Shaw congratulated him on having achieved characters which were natural and original, comparatively speaking, an improvement which he attributed to Pinero's having concentrated on a "phase of life and sentiment which he thoroughly understands," and having consequently avoided "the conventional figures which inevitably appear in his plays whenever he conceives himself to be dealing as a sociologist with public questions of which he has no solid knowledge, but only a purely conventional and theatrical conceit."⁵⁰ This tendency to rely on imagination uninformed by experience was another of the charges brought by Shaw against the Elizabethan dramatists:

⁴⁸ G. B. S., "Beaumont and Fletcher," *ibid.*, LXXXV (Feb. 19, 1898), 251.

⁴⁹ G. B. S., "Mr. Pinero's New Play," *ibid.*, LXXIX (Mar. 16, 1895), 346-347.

⁵⁰ G. B. S., "Pinero As He Is Acted," *ibid.*, LXXX (Oct. 19, 1895), 503.

One calls the Elizabethan dramatists imaginative, as one might say the same of a man in delirium tremens; but even that flatters them; for whereas the drinker can imagine rats and snakes and beetles which have some sort of resemblance to real ones, your typical Elizabethan heroes of the mighty line, having neither the eyes to see anything real nor the brains to observe it, could no more conceive a natural or convincing stage figure than a blind man can conceive a rainbow or a deaf one the sound of an orchestra.⁵¹

The practice of evaluating dramatic characterizations by reference to real persons, of condemning the representation of conventional types or stock figures, and of advocating the "life study" method of direct observation, is repeated in Shaw's criticism with such frequency and emphasis that one is justified in identifying it as a second major critical standard, the criterion of realism.

This criterion was extended, in his reviews of modern plays at least, to Shaw's evaluation of dramatic dialogue. The adverse critical term most frequently applied to contemporary dialogue was the word "literary," used in the derogatory sense of forced or contrived. In contrast to this, Shaw persistently advocated the use of "idiomatic, vernacular language"—in other words, of a style of dialogue which would enhance the illusion of reality.⁵² The same idea seems to have been the real source of Shaw's disapproval of Shakespeare's "rhetoric"—another term used in a special contemptuous sense—which he attributed at one point to the pernicious influence of the other Elizabethan dramatists.⁵³ Elsewhere Shaw declared that Shakespeare, because he possessed "very deep

human feeling," as well as the "much cheaper article," imagination, was capable at times of transforming his style so that "rhetoric and poetry become one."⁵⁴ When Shaw praised the charm of Shakespeare's "word-music," he assumed, however, a precise dichotomy of sound and sense and implied that the beauty of Shakespearean verse was a matter merely of aural patterns which were aesthetically pleasing.

In the "author's apology" prefixed to his collected essays, Shaw stated that, having set up a standard of what the drama should be, he used all his art "to make every deviation in aiming at this standard, every recalcitrance in approaching it, every refusal to accept it seem ridiculous and old-fashioned."⁵⁵ This description is particularly true of Shaw's critical onslaught directed at the "well made play." When he reviewed the work of Sydney Grundy, Pinero, Sardou and Dumas fils, Shaw frequently concentrated on ridiculing the familiar technical devices of this school of dramaturgy. He objected that the elaborate and artificial expository devices employed by Grundy and others did not even fulfill the purpose of introducing the characters and supplying the necessary information about antecedent action. Frequently he complained that the exposition, rather than clarifying the situation, merely added to the confusion. In his review of Sardou's *Delia Harding*, described flatly as "the worst play I ever saw," Shaw contended that Sardou had carried the craft of elaborate exposition to such an extreme that it had usurped the place of dramatic action.⁵⁶ Underlying all of Shaw's ad-

⁵¹ G. B. S., "The Spacious Times," *ibid.*, LXXXII (July 11, 1896), 36.

⁵² G. B. S., "The Independent Theatre," *ibid.*, LXXIX (Jan. 26, 1895), 126.

⁵³ G. B. S., "A New Lady Macbeth and a New Mrs. Ebbsmith," *ibid.*, LXXIX (May 25, 1895), 694.

⁵⁴ G. B. S., "The Return of Mrs. Pat," *ibid.*, LXXXI (Mar. 7, 1896), 248.

⁵⁵ Shaw, *Dramatic Opinions and Essays*, I, xxii.

⁵⁶ G. B. S., "Two Bad Plays," *ibid.*, LXXIX (April 20, 1895), 508-509.

verse comments on dramatic technique is the idea that elaborately engineered action is not "natural"; it reduces the credibility of characters and interferes with the illusion of reality. The criterion of realism was thus applied to dramatic technique, as well as to character and dialogue.

Toward the end of his third season as a drama critic, Shaw began his weekly article with some comments on the Romantic movement in which he virtually admitted that he had deliberately employed the criterion of realism—"the tests of realism and revelation"—and justified it as a necessary and salutary means of rescuing the contemporary artist from the "blight and dry rot" of Romanticism.⁵⁷ While defending his standard on pragmatic grounds, Shaw implied that a realistic style might not, after all, be the distinctive characteristic of good drama, and hence seems himself to have questioned the final validity of his criterion. There is evidence, in any case, that Shaw considered the playwright's ability to deal with "ethics and sociology" a more significant test of his achievement than the "mere handicraft of description and imitation" by which the dramatist might master realistic characterization and dialogue.⁵⁸ While the commonplace, conventional play was usually criticized and condemned entirely in terms of the criterion of realism, those plays which had any pretension to real merit were almost invariably examined in terms of their intellectual implications.

This attitude toward the theatre,

⁵⁷ G. B. S., "Lorenzaccio," *ibid.*, LXXXIII (June 26, 1897), 714.

⁵⁸ G. B. S., "The Natural and the Stage Villain," *ibid.*, LXXXV (Mar. 12, 1898), 355.

which placed greatest stress on its potentialities as a medium for expressing ideas of a sociological or philosophic nature, may possibly represent not so much a final standard as a reaction against typical conditions of the Victorian drama, and an aspect of Shaw's campaign to secure recognition for the theatre as a medium of serious artistic expression. Recurring throughout Shaw's criticism is the objection that the commercial theatre of his period had little to offer the person of ordinary intellectual capacity and nothing at all to interest the person of superior intelligence and cultivation, an opinion which is probably, in the main, entirely defensible. It was in part, at least, against such a situation that Shaw placed so much emphasis upon the element of thought in drama, and in so doing found that he must combat not only the habitual mental lethargy of audiences and the backwardness of actors and managers, but the conviction on the part of his contemporary critics that ideas were out of place in the theatre. Whether or not they are acceptable as a sound guide in the formation of taste, Shaw's criticisms are characterized throughout by an insistence that the theatre be taken seriously as a medium of expression and by a sincere effort to raise the modern theatre to a position of dignity. This is undeniably commendable, whether or not one agrees, with Shaw, that the theatre should function as "a factory of thought, a prompter of conscience, an elucidator of social conduct, an armory against despair and dulness, and a temple of the Ascent of Man."⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Shaw, *Dramatic Opinions and Essays*, I, xxiii.

AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF THE OVERT MANIFESTATIONS OF STAGE FRIGHT

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I. THE PROBLEM

IN approaching the study of stage fright, the experimenters have sought to avoid the assumption that it is a simple or single or clearly defined entity. Rather, it has been assumed that the term "stage fright" may be used conventionally to indicate those complex, and usually unpleasant, emotional states which frequently accompany the experience of public performers.¹ It has been further assumed that (like electricity, perhaps) these phenomena can be measured, at least approximately, without the necessity of first being able to define them precisely. In fact, the experimenters have felt that systematic exploration of the nature, varieties, causes, and therapies of stage fright must wait upon the development of techniques of measurement.

There appear to be three possible approaches to the measurement of stage fright: (1) introspective reports, (2) physiological changes, and (3) reports by observers.

Using the first of these approaches, Gilkinson² has reported an excellent

study in which he developed a technique for systematizing and quantifying introspective reports by college public speaking students. This takes the form of an inventory comprising 104 items, and titled, "Personal Report of Confidence of Speakers," or "PRCS." When subjects' responses to this inventory were properly tabulated, PRCS scores were obtained which provided a satisfactory degree of statistical reliability. As might be expected, however, Gilkinson reported difficulties in establishing equally satisfactory evidence of validity.

The writers are unaware of any published study covering the second approach: measurement of physiological changes during stage fright. Such research is, however, now in progress.³

The present study is concerned with the third approach, and the general problem may be stated in the form of three main questions:

(1) How reliably and validly can the overt manifestations of stage fright be measured by means of a rating scale technique applied to college student speakers by speech teachers and graduate students of speech?

(2) What changes, if any, will occur when the same judges rate voice recordings and motion pictures of the same speakers?

(3) What relationships are there be-

Questionnaire Study of the Causes of Social Fears among College Speech students," X 74-83.

³ This research, involving such variables as pulse, respiration, blood pressure, etc., is being conducted by William R. Parker at Redlands University as a doctoral project for the University of Southern California.

¹ Greenleaf has suggested the following descriptive definition of "speech fright," based upon 789 questionnaire responses from students in a college communications course and upon interviews with 14 students suffering severe stage fright: "an evaluative disability, occurring in social speech situations and characterized by anticipatory negative reactions of fear, avoidance, and various internal and overt manifestations of tension and behavioral manifestations." See Greenleaf, Floyd L., *An Exploratory Study of Social Speech Fright*, M.A. Thesis, State University of Iowa, 1947.

² Gilkinson, Howard, "Social Fears As Reported by Students in College Speech Classes," *Speech Monographs*, IX (1942), 141-160; and "A

tween these judgments of the overt manifestations of stage fright and the subjective feelings of the speakers?

II. SUBJECTS, MATERIALS, PROCEDURES

In general, experimental procedures were as follows. Forty selected male college students gave short speeches before 61 "expert" judges who rated each speaker on a scale of "observable degrees of stage fright." Sound motion pictures were made. Several weeks later, most of these judges listened to the sound tracks and rated voices for "observable degrees of stage fright." After another lapse of weeks, judges similarly rated the silent motion pictures. The foregoing procedures will next be described in greater detail.

Speakers. It was thought wise to limit each phase of the experiments to one judging session. Forty speakers in a single session were considered maximum in order to avoid undue danger of judges' fatigue. At the same time, 40 was considered sufficient for statistical treatment, and for the purpose of making it extremely difficult for judges to remember individual speakers in the two later judging sessions. Since the major purpose of the experiments was to test the attempts of observers in judging degrees of stage fright, the most important consideration in choosing speakers was to try to provide the judges with examples of many degrees of stage fright. Theoretically, a random sample of 40 students from speech classes enrolling over 2,000 would provide mostly speakers with average amounts of fright and would not at all guarantee that both extremes would be represented. In fact, no method of selection would seem to guarantee such a wide range since any given speaker might be poised during one speech and unaccountably lose that poise in his next speech, or vice versa.

With the above difficulties in mind,

several hundred students in both beginning and advanced speech courses were asked to rate their feelings of stage fright on Gilkinson's five-step self-rating scale during a round of regular class speeches. Despite some apparent weaknesses in scale construction, to be discussed presently, it was felt that this procedure would provide approximations sufficient for the purpose. The 40 subjects were then chosen so as to provide a platykurtic bell-shaped distribution.

To eliminate one variable, only males were chosen.

Subjects were then told that an experiment in "Speech teaching techniques" was to be conducted; that they had been chosen "at random" as typical student speakers. They were asked to prepare nonhumorous talks of one minute on the topic, "My Most Useful Study Method."

Judges. Since the object of the experiments was to test the observational accuracy of "experts," rather than laymen, the experimenters invited speech teachers and graduate speech students to participate. Sixty-one responded for the first session. Of these, 53 returned for session two; and 50 for session three.

Rating Scale. As reported above, Gilkinson's Self-Rating Scale was used as the technique for selecting speakers. This scale has five steps, labeled as follows:

1. Extremely frightened and confused
2. Frightened, doubtful of ability
3. Somewhat worried but willing to talk
4. A little nervous but eager to speak
5. Entirely confident and eager to talk

It will be noted that one serious weakness is the use of two descriptive terms per scale step. On step number 1, for example, some of our students said they were "frightened but not confused," while others said they felt "con-

fused but not frightened." Another serious error is the fact that there is no single variable running along the scale from "most" to "least." Thus, step number 1 is in terms of "fright" and "confusion," which changes on step number 3 to "worry" and "willingness to speak," and on step number 5 to "confidence" and "eagerness."

Consideration was given to a similar but even less satisfactory rating scale for measuring stagefright reported by Hayworth.⁴

The scale developed for the experiments here reported was as follows:

SPEAKER NO.

1 Virtually no observable degree of stage fright	2 Less than average degree of stage fright	3 Average degree of stage fright	4 More than average degree of stage fright	5 Extreme degree of stage fright
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The instruction sheet for judges read, in part: "We are relying upon your past observations of student speeches to provide a 'standard' or 'frame of reference' for your judgment. In other words, you are asked to judge each speaker in comparison with the last 100 or so college speakers you have heard."

Each judge was provided with a booklet of 40 pages, one copy of the scale on each page.

Procedure. The speakers were gathered in Room A under the supervision of one of the experimenters. This room was connected by a swinging door with Room B in which the judges were seated. At the front of Room B was a speaker's stand, above which a microphone was suspended, and upon which floodlights shone. On the wall immediately behind was a large electric clock and a hook for cards to show the code num-

bers of speakers. About 15 feet in front of the stand was the sound camera.

At a signal from the cameraman, the experimenter in charge of Room B would call out the code number of the speaker about to be heard, and simultaneously press a button which flashed a light in Room A. On this signal, the speaker would come through the door, go to the rostrum and commence his speech. At the end of one minute, if the speaker had not finished, a red light immediately in front of the stand would flash. The speaker would conclude at once. Crossing to the other side of the room,

he would go through another swinging door into Room C. There, supervised by the third experimenter, he would fill out Gilkinson's PRCS inventory.

Pauses between speakers were provided for judges to mark ballots, for experimenter to change code-number card on the wall, and occasionally for cameraman to change reels.

Despite the fact that a professional cameraman was hired for the experiments, some of the pictures were faulty. A careful check revealed that the cause was defective film, a mischance which rarely occurs. As a result, films for eight of the speakers, and soundtracks for ten, were discarded.

Approximately 15 weeks after the first session, judges were again assembled, given written instructions and booklets of scales. The sound track alone was played and auditory impressions alone used as basis for judgment.

Approximately five weeks after the second session, judges witnessed the si-

⁴ Hayworth, Donald, "A Search for Facts on the Teaching of Public Speaking," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXVIII (1942), 347.

lent movies and on the basis of these visual impressions rated for the third time.

The same judges were used for all three stages of the experiments. This was done because, since only actual or prospective speech teachers were to be tested, it would be impractical to secure three different "matched" groups large enough for statistical purposes. By using 40 speakers and by spacing the three sessions several weeks apart, it was believed that halo effects could be reduced to an unimportant minimum. Any loss of validity due to this factor, however, should be offset by gains of validity due to elimination of questions of equivalence of groups which would have arisen had the experimenters attempted to secure "matched" groups.

III. PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Table I is a summary of data gathered during Session One. The first column identifies the speakers who spoke in random order and were assigned numbers from 1 to 40. Column two gives their PRCS scores, tabulated in accordance with Gilkinson's directions. Column three translates Gilkinson's scores into a single scale of positive values (explained below). Column four translates the PRCS scores into T-scale scores. Column five gives the averaged Judges' Ratings (JR scores). Column six translates these JR scores into T-scale scores to make them comparable with PRCS. Means and standard deviations are indicated at bottom of table. These data may now be explained and some interpretations suggested.

First consideration may be given to the obtained PRCS scores. Gilkinson's inventory comprises 50 statements, representing varying degrees of "confidence," and 54 statements, representing

varying degrees of "fear." His recommended scoring method is the algebraic sum of the "yes" responses where "confidence" items are counted as plus values and "fear" items as minus values. Thus the theoretical maximum range is from +50 to -54. The obtained PRCS scores for the 40 speakers ranged from +43 to -38, or almost 80% of the theoretical maximum.

Since Gilkinson's scores are both negative and positive in sign, and since zero is a score, data in such form are inconvenient for statistical manipulation. Therefore, the present experimenters transposed the PRCS scores into a single scale of positive values in which 1 corresponds with Gilkinson's +50; 2 with +49; 3 with +48; etc. It will be noted that the score 51 replaces zero; and 105 corresponds with -54. After this transposition, data were called "Coded PRCS scores." The two methods of recording PRCS scores are shown in columns 2 and 3 of Table I.

At this point, the experimenters wondered if Gilkinson's inventory might not be successfully "streamlined" for practical classroom use. The list of 104 items is too lengthy for ordinary use; and the unexplained imbalance, i.e., four more "fear" than "confidence" items, is somewhat confusing. Therefore, using Gilkinson's own data on item analysis,⁵ the experimenters chose the 25 "confidence" and the 25 "fear" items whose "yes" responses correlated most significantly with total scores. The 40 PRCS papers were then re-scored in terms of these 50 items only. These short-form scores were correlated with the original scores, producing an *r* of $+.99 \pm .003$. This is so high as to suggest that an even shorter form can probably be devised which might prove useful as a regular classroom teaching

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 149-154.

TABLE I

Speaker Number	PRCS Score	Coded PRCS	PRCS T-scale Scores	Average JR Scores	JR T-scale Scores
1	-5	56	48.7	2.8	51.3
2	+40	11	66.4	2.1	58.4
3	+11	40	55.2	3.1	47.5
4	-21	72	39.7	2.7	51.9
5	+25	26	58.4	1.8	62.8
6	-10	61	46.1	3.7	42.5
7	+1	50	51.9	3.1	47.5
8	-2	53	50.7	4.2	38.5
9	+37	14	64.5	1.9	61.5
10	+23	28	56.7	3.9	41.6
11	+7	44	53.9	4.3	35.6
12	-24	75	37.2	2.8	51.3
13	+2	49	52.5	2.9	49.4
14	+24	27	57.5	1.7	64.5
15	-17	68	42.5	3.9	41.6
16	+26	25	59.4	2.1	58.4
17	-15	66	43.3	4.2	38.5
18	-12	63	44.1	3.0	48.7
19	-10	61	46.1	2.4	55.2
20	-38	89	30.4	3.6	43.3
21	+34	17	61.5	2.0	59.4
22	+17	34	56.0	1.4	69.0
23	+9	42	54.6	3.2	46.1
24	-9	60	47.5	3.3	45.5
25	0	51	51.3	2.2	56.7
26	+43	8	72.0	1.9	61.5
27	+37	14	64.5	1.5	66.4
28	-6	57	48.1	4.1	39.7
29	-4	55	49.4	2.2	56.7
30	-17	68	42.5	4.8	30.4
31	-10	61	46.1	3.0	48.7
32	-28	79	33.6	2.4	55.2
33	-9	60	47.5	3.3	45.5
34	-3	54	50.0	2.8	51.3
35	-24	75	37.2	2.4	55.2
36	+6	45	53.2	2.4	55.2
37	-18	69	40.6	3.5	44.1
38	+41	10	69.6	1.4	69.0
39	+29	22	60.4	2.6	52.5
40	-23	74	38.5	4.4	33.6
M		48.3	50.8	2.9	50.8
SD		21.645	9.646	.894	9.522

Personal Reports of Forty Speakers and Average Ratings of Sixty-one "Expert" Judges on Stage Fright in Original Speaking Session.

technique. However, it would seem desirable to explore this probability more thoroughly by testing with larger numbers of subjects and in ordinary classroom speaking situations.

Following Session One, the scores obtained by the judges' ratings based upon "in the flesh" observations, were tabulated and labelled "JR" scores. The 61 judges' ratings for each of the 40 speakers were averaged. Range of these aver-

aged JR's was from 1.38 to 4.80, or approximately 85% of the theoretical maximum. The JR scores are shown in column 5 of Table I.

In order to facilitate comparisons between the PRCS and JR scores, the several possibilities were weighed by which two or more sets of related measurements may be converted into a third, directly comparable, scale. It was decided to use McCall's T-scale method.

Applying customary procedures,⁶ the experimenters converted both the PRCS and JR scores into T-scores. These are shown respectively in columns 4 and 6 of Table I.

Taking into account the nature of the JR scale, and especially the frame of reference as described in the written instructions, and also considering the unknown nature of the manifestations of stage fright, the experimenters did not expect a high degree of JR reliability. However, a check for internal reliability, in which judges were arranged alphabetically and odd numbers correlated with even, produced an r value of $+.98 \pm .005$.

The surprising consistency reflected by the above split-half comparison led the experimenters to test the reliability of quite small judging groups. To effect this, judges' numbers were drawn from a basket in random groups of five. The twelve groups of five were then correlated against the whole group of 61. Following were the r values, all positive in sign: .922, .924, .938, .943, .944, .955, .957, .959, .968, .969, .971, and .980. This suggests that the JR scale, as here used, provided a remarkably stable measuring technique even when judgments were averaged for groups of judges as small as five. It may be recommended for further use, at least in experimental work.

The experimenters next sought to determine the degree of relationship between the PRCS and JR scores. The PRCS scores for the 40 speakers were correlated with the 40 average JR's. This gave an r value of $+.59 \pm .104$. Such a coefficient must be interpreted with care. PRCS purports to measure how the speakers *felt*; JR purports to

measure how they *looked and sounded*. These are obviously different phenomena, and there would seem to be reasonable grounds for hypothesizing that (when *groups* of speakers are tested) the two would never show one-to-one correlation. For example, common experience suggests that some speakers may quite skilfully *conceal* their inner trepidations. At the same time, it would seem logical to expect some degree of positive correlation. The obtained coefficient of .59 satisfies these several considerations.

Further light is shed upon the probable relationship between overt and covert manifestations of stage fright when "exceptional" cases are considered. Inspection of the data in Table I will reveal that Speakers 10, 11, 32, and 35 showed extraordinary discrepancies between their PRCS and JR scores. Implications of these four cases will be discussed more fully in another connection below. Assuming for the moment that there are grounds for considering these cases exceptional, and removing them from the data, the correlation between PRCS and JR for the remaining 36 cases jumps upward to $+.74 \pm .076$.

In general, it might be concluded that the PRCS and JR techniques tend to validate one another, but that with further refinement of either or both the coefficients might be expected to increase somewhat and the σ 's to decrease. Further, it might be pointed out that, while groups of speech teachers may closely agree with other groups in estimating the overt manifestations of stage fright, they should not make the mistake of supposing that their judgments, even when averaged, will also agree with the speaker's subjective feelings.

It was thought that certain variables

⁶ Guilford, J. P., *Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education* (New York, 1942), pp. 99-104.

might influence the accuracy of the JR scores ("accuracy" being defined as correspondence with PRCS scores). The following variables were tested: sex, years of teaching experience, distance from speakers, and speech-areas of major interest.

When the average JR's of the 19 female judges were correlated with the PRCS scores, an r of $+.60 \pm .102$ was obtained. When scores for the 42 male judges were similarly correlated, the r was $+.57 \pm .108$. The difference was not statistically significant.

The 24 "most experienced" judges ranged in years of teaching from two to 28. Their correlation with PRCS was $+.59 \pm .104$. The "least experienced" comprised 21 judges, none of whom had done any formal teaching. Their r was $+.60 \pm .102$. Difference not significant. This finding suggests the practical possibility that students in a speech class may rate one another with satisfactory validity. The possibility should be experimentally tested by comparing student with faculty judgments.

Since the room of the experiments was 29 feet long and the floor was not inclined, only those judges in the front rows could see the whole speakers. Vision in rear rows was restricted to the upper half of speakers' bodies. Accuracy of the front three rows, comprising 19 judges, was compared with that of the rear three rows, comprising 23 judges. Front rows correlated $+.60 \pm .102$ and rear rows, $+.60 \pm .102$. Difference not significant. This indirectly suggests the hypothesis that judgments were based upon the speaker's general effect or *gestalt*, rather than upon specific details such as trembling knees, shuffling of feet, etc.

Major fields of interest and experience were: for 17 judges, public address, discussion, debate; for 16 judges,

speech arts, interpretation, drama; and for 24 judges, speech science, correction, aural rehabilitation. When correlated with PRCS, the coefficients were:

Public address	$+.62 \pm .098$
Speech arts	$+.59 \pm .104$
Speech science	$+.56 \pm .110$

None of the above differences exceeds even $1 \times SE$ and, therefore, may not be considered to have a high degree of statistical probability.

Analyzing the data from another point of view, it was noted that the judges seemed much more certain of their judgments in the case of "confident" speakers than of "fearful" ones. To explore this possibility, the 40 speakers were divided into upper and lower quartiles. Q_1 comprised the most "confident" speakers, as measured by their PRCS scores; while Q_4 comprised the most "fearful." To measure consistency, the standard deviations for the averaged JR's were compared. Average standard deviation for Q_1 was .66 and for Q_4 was .99. It will be noted that the difference of .33 is a third to a half as great as the figures being compared. The t -ratio of 8.5 far exceeds that required for significance of this difference. It may be concluded that there was much greater vacillation by the judges in rating "fearful" speakers than the "confident" ones.

Since some speech teachers act on the conviction that they are able to gauge a student speaker's emotional state simply by observing him give a speech, it was thought desirable to attempt some measurement of the accuracy of each individual judgment made during these experiments. To get at this problem, the experimenters constructed a "key," showing the "true" JR score (one through five) for each speaker if it is assumed that his PRCS score accurately reflects his inner state and if it is as-

sumed that the speech teacher may be expected to divine that inner state. The experimenters devised the "key" by dividing the range of T-scores for PRCS (range as contrasted with distribution) into five equal parts. Transposing backwards, they assigned equivalent JR values to these five PRCS areas. Applying this "key" to each individual judge's actual ratings, it was possible to estimate his deviation from "accuracy." Using a five-step scale, it should be mentioned that even a correct matching between judge and "key" is only a reflection that the judge is approximately right.

Using the above procedure, it was found that the "best" of the 61 judges was "approximately right" in 19 of the 40 cases; the average judge in 13.6 cases; the "worst" judge in only 9 cases. It should be noted that by chance a judge should get one right out of five—or eight of the 40. By this standard, some of the judges would have been almost as well off had they flipped coins. The *best* judge was approximately right only half the time. Even with all possible qualifications inherent in the experimental set-up, these margins of error are so gross as to indicate that a speech teacher should place little faith in his unsupported judgment as to the emotions felt by a given student in a given speech. Certainly no serious therapy should be based upon such judgments.

The experimenters were interested, not only in the amounts of judging errors, but also in the direction of such errors, i.e., possible tendencies either to overestimate or underestimate the speaker's reported fear-feelings. On this question, the data revealed a strongly marked trend. Of a total of 2,440 judgments in Session One, there were 2,240 scale steps of deviation from "accuracy." Of these, 1,339 or 59.8% were underesti-

mations of students' fears, while 901, or 40.2% were overestimations. This difference of 19.6% may be roughly evaluated for significance by application of a customary formula for standard error of the difference between proportions.⁷ Since this difference is approximately 9xSE, it may be considered highly significant. In terms of classroom practices, it would seem more dangerous to underestimate than to overestimate a student's emotional upsets. If so, the data suggest that the average teacher will be not merely inaccurate in judging students' fears but usually inaccurate in the more dangerous direction.

The accuracy of judges in these experiments was, of course, partially a function of the speakers. The data were, therefore, analyzed from that point of view. Naturally, speakers who varied in extreme degree from their JR scores were scrutinized. As has already been indicated, this scrutiny revealed four cases of extraordinary discrepancy between PRCS and JR scores. Probably the simplest way to state these discrepancies would be in terms of rank differences. When all speakers were ranked, from most to least confidence, according to both PRCS and JR scores, it was noticed that Speakers 32 and 35 were tied with a rank of 14.5 by their JR scores, yet ranked 39 and 37.5 according to their PRCS scores. Rank differences were thus 24.5 and 23 respectively (where 39 would be maximum rank deviation possible.) On the other extreme Speakers 10 and 11 ranked 33.5 and 38 by JR scores, as compared with 11 and 15 by PRCS, giving rank differences of 22.5 and 23. The unusual extent of these four deviations is clarified when it is considered that the aver-

⁷ Cf. Arkin, Herbert, and Colton, Raymond R., *An Outline of Statistical Methods*, 4th ed. (1939), p. 122.

age difference for the other 36 speakers was only 6.5 ranks. Furthermore, these cases were separated on both extremes by noticeable gaps from the next nearest discrepancies. These data suggested the hypothesis that when a speaker's deviation from his judges' rankings exceeds two or three times the average deviation of a considerable number of other speakers, such discrepancy may provide a diagnostic technique by which "personality problems" may be located. This suggestion is based upon the assumption that radical variances in self-appraisal may be a function of "abnormal" operation of such mechanisms as inferiority feelings, defense of ego, etc.

Table II presents a summary of data gathered during Session Two of the experiments. Column one identifies speakers by their numbers. It will be seen that ten speakers were omitted because sound track for their voices was defective. Column two gives the Coded PRCS scores for the speakers. Column three lists JR scores as recorded in Session I. These figures vary from those in Table I, however, in that only 53 of the 61 judges were secured for Session 2. Column four shows the average JR's of the 53 judges, when their judgments were based upon auditory impressions alone.

Table III presents a summary of data for Session Three. The form of the table is the same as for Table II. In Session Three, however, 50 of the judges rated silent motion pictures of 32 of the speakers.

The data in Tables II and III throw some light upon the nature of the process by which the judges made their judgments. One question might be: To what extent did the JR's, based upon sound alone or sight alone, agree with their judgments based upon "in the

flesh" observation? For Session Two, correlation between "in the flesh" and auditory alone was $.92 \pm .029$; while for Session Three "in the flesh" correlated with silent motion pictures $.86 \pm .047$. The difference between the two coefficients suggests that in the original speaking situation, judges' ratings were influenced more by what they heard than by what they saw. However, the difference is less than $1 \times SE$. Another question might be: Did the judgments in Sessions Two and Three tend to be more or less nearly correlated with the speakers' PRCS scores? In Session Two, the "flesh" JR's correlated with PRCS $.65 \pm .011$, while sound JR's were $.70$

TABLE II

Speaker Number	Coded PRCS	Session I JR Scores	Session II JR Scores
1	56	2.8	2.7
2	11	2.1	1.8
3	40	3.1	2.5
4	72	2.7	3.3
5	26	1.8	1.8
6	61	3.7	3.3
7	50	3.1	3.5
8	53	4.1	4.0
10	28	3.8	4.0
13	49	2.9	2.4
14	27	1.6	1.7
15	68	3.8	3.7
16	25	2.0	2.2
17	66	4.1	3.5
19	61	2.4	2.8
20	89	3.6	4.0
23	42	3.2	3.1
27	14	1.5	2.0
28	57	4.1	3.8
29	55	2.2	2.6
30	68	4.8	4.9
31	61	3.1	2.6
33	60	3.4	3.1
34	54	2.8	3.2
35	75	2.4	2.8
36	45	2.4	3.0
37	69	3.5	3.6
38	10	1.4	1.4
39	22	2.6	2.8
40	74	4.4	4.3
	M	49.6	3.0
	SD	20.550	.885
			.829

Personal Reports of 30 Speakers and Average Ratings of 53 "Expert" Judges on Stage Fright in Original Situation, and While Listening to Sound Track.

TABLE III

Speaker Number	Coded PRCS	Session I JR Scores	Session III JR Scores
1	56	2.8	2.5
2	11	2.0	1.7
3	40	3.0	3.5
9	14	1.9	2.4
10	28	3.8	2.2
11	44	4.3	3.8
12	75	2.7	2.9
13	49	2.9	2.8
14	27	1.7	1.5
15	68	3.9	3.9
16	25	2.1	2.4
17	66	4.1	4.2
18	63	3.0	3.7
19	61	2.3	2.4
20	89	3.6	3.6
21	17	1.9	1.8
22	34	1.4	1.7
23	42	3.2	2.3
24	60	3.1	3.5
27	14	1.5	1.9
28	57	4.1	3.6
29	55	2.2	2.1
30	68	4.8	4.7
31	61	3.0	3.1
33	60	3.4	3.2
34	54	2.8	2.5
35	75	2.4	2.4
36	45	2.4	2.7
37	69	3.5	2.7
38	10	1.4	1.8
39	22	2.6	1.9
40	44	4.5	4.1
M	47.9	2.9	2.8
SD	21.588	.917	.838

Personal Reports of 32 Speakers and Average Ratings of 50 "Expert" Judges on Stage Fright in Original Situation, and While Watching Silent Motion Picture.

$\pm .095$. In Session Three, the "flesh" JR's correlated with PRCS $+ .63 \pm .108$, while sight alone JR's were $+ .69 \pm .094$. These statistics indicated the somewhat surprising possibility that the judges were more "accurate" (as defined by agreement with PRCS) when judging either voice alone or motion pictures alone than when judging the actual performance. Again, however, the differences were well within chance. The clues here provided probably should be thoroughly checked with larger numbers of cases. The hypothesis is suggested that speech teachers may be able to make more objective and valid judgments of

students' emotional disturbances if sound recordings and/or silent motion pictures are made and judged later on.

Theoretically it might be supposed that the "in the flesh" situation is simply a compound of the auditory and visual stimuli, and that the combined influence of the latter two variables should completely account for the former. This possibility was tested by multiple correlation. There were 25 speakers who had been judged in all three sessions by 48 judges. If the JR's secured in Sessions One, Two, and Three are identified as x, y, and z, respectively, the correlations may be reported as follows:

$$r_{xy} = .91 \pm .035$$

$$r_{xz} = .86 \pm .053$$

$$r_{yz} = .75 \pm .089$$

$$R^2_{xy} = .90$$

$$R_{xy} = .95 \pm .02$$

Perhaps the most important interpretation of the foregoing values may be made in terms of the coefficient of multiple determination (R^2). In this case we can say that 90% of variance in the "flesh" JR's may be accounted for by the purely visual and purely auditory stimuli, eliminating from double consideration whatever elements the two have in common. The remaining 10% must be accounted for on other grounds. This speaks encouragingly for the use of the sound motion picture technique, indicating that the visual and auditory components can probably be separated for purposes of experimental analysis without undue risk of perverting the data and/or introducing extraneous variables of serious importance.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

1. The rating scale technique here developed ("JR" scores) provided a remarkably stable instrument for measuring overt manifestations of stage fright. Split-half comparison of 61

judges gave an *r* value of $+.98 \pm .005$.

2. The JR technique was highly reliable when ratings of as few as five judges were averaged.

3. When the outward manifestations of stage fright, as measured by the JR technique, were correlated with the subjective feelings of speakers, as measured by Gilkinson's PRCS inventory, a coefficient of $+.59 \pm .104$ was obtained.

4. In general, the JR and PRCS techniques tended to validate one another.

5. The practicability of developing a short-form PRCS inventory, requiring fewer than half the present number of items, was demonstrated.

6. The accuracy of JR scores ("accuracy" defined as agreement with PRCS scores) did not vary significantly in terms of sex differences, distance from speakers, or amount of judges' teaching experience. The data suggested the possibility, although of low statistical probability, that accuracy might be partially a function of judges' major fields of interest and experience: public address, speech arts, and speech science backgrounds reflected decreasing degrees of accuracy in that order.

7. There was markedly greater vacillation by judges in rating "fearful" speakers than "confident" ones.

8. Analysis of individual ratings revealed such gross inaccuracies as to suggest that a speech teacher can place little faith in his unsupported judgment

as to the emotions felt by a given student in a given speech.

9. Judges tended to underestimate students' fears much more frequently than to overestimate them.

10. When a speaker's self-appraisal of emotional upset deviates from his judges' ratings by two or three times the average deviation of a considerable number of other speakers, such a discrepancy may provide a diagnostic tool by which serious personality maladjustments may be located.

11. There was indication, although of low statistical probability, that judges' ratings were influenced more by auditory than by visual stimuli.

12. There was indication, although of low statistical probability, that judges' ratings were more accurate when based upon silent motion pictures alone, or upon sound recordings alone, than when based upon observations of "in the flesh" performances.

13. Multiple correlation indicated that JR scores, based upon "in the flesh" observations, were approximately 90% a function of the combined (but not overlapping) effects of the purely visual and purely auditory stimuli, as measured by sound motion picture technique, leaving but 10% to be accounted for by other factors.

14. In general, experience with sound motion pictures, as an experimental device, was encouraging.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT'S AUDIENCE PERSUASION IN THE 1936 CAMPAIGN*

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ON November 3, 1936, nearly eight million more voters went to the polls than had ever before done so—about forty-five million persons, or some sixty per cent of the citizens of twenty-one years or over in the United States. In this unprecedented expression of choice, Roosevelt won a popular vote of 27,751,000 to Landon's 16,682,000, and the electoral vote of all the States except Landon's Maine and Vermont, a total of 523 to 8. Although his popular majority had been equalled at certain previous elections, never had a candidate, in an election when two parties were supporting two separate tickets, received so great an electoral majority.¹

Roosevelt was thus returned to the presidency in 1937 by the choice of the majority in every section of the country. Among the reasons for his re-election seem to be these: he was striding out ahead in the direction in which history was moving the nation; the incidence of recovery put strong weapons in his hands; he was able, in one of the greatest stump-speaking campaigns of all time, to deepen and to rebuild, where necessary, the faith of the majority in his leadership toward the goals which he envisioned for the country.

Roosevelt himself was the issue in the campaign of 1936. There were no other real issues, regardless of the attempts

*A condensation of a doctoral dissertation completed at the State University of Iowa in 1948 under the direction of Professor A. Craig Baird. Valued assistance was also given by Professor Orville Hitchcock.

¹ Rauch, Basil, *The History of the New Deal* (New York, 1944), pp. 262-264.

of the Republican strategy-makers to establish others. Those who directed publicity for the Democratic Party began with the theory that "the correct strategy was to insure, if possible, that the candidate of the opposition should not be built up to an inspiring figure."² And the campaign narrowed to one decision—not between support of Roosevelt and support of Landon, but between support of, or opposition to, Roosevelt. The minor parties which had mushroomed in the spring of 1936 failed of their promise through the singleness of issue in the campaign.

The Republicans, as challengers, should have taken the offensive, driving Roosevelt to a defense of the policies of his administration. In this campaign, however, the incumbents became the challengers, constantly enforcing the comparison—with the powerful aid of the nation's recovery—between the New Deal years and the preceding Republican administrations, and hardly allowing the Republicans to consider the Roosevelt administration as a single factor.

The campaign had opened with the delineation of party platforms, platforms differing on few points but closing with significant declarations. The Republican platform asserted: "We offer the abiding security of a government of laws against the autocratic perils of a government of men."³ The platform of the Democrats spoke clearly:

The issue in this election is plain. The Ameri-

² Michelson, Charles, *New York Times*, Nov. 15, 1936.

³ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1936.

can people are called upon to choose between a Republican Administration that has and would again regiment them in the service of privileged groups and a Democratic Administration dedicated to the establishment of equal opportunity for all our people.⁴

The basic lines of the clash which took place between June and November, 1936, are to be seen in these sentences.

The Democrats discussed other issues only as they assumed prominence in the thinking of the electorate or fitted the strategy of the campaign. Particularly did Roosevelt succeed in maintaining the attitude that the public had the right to understand these issues rather than that the Democratic stand on them needed defense. The Midwest drought brought the agricultural problem to the fore, and Roosevelt discussed it in Omaha, Nebraska, on October 10. Newspaper attacks and challenges by his opponents made Communism momentarily important, and Roosevelt discussed it in Syracuse, New York, on September 29. Repeated criticism of his expenditures and conduct of monetary policies rendered government finance a significant issue, and Roosevelt spoke, in Pittsburgh, on October 1, on balancing the budget, and, in Worcester, Massachusetts, on October 21, on taxation. The pay-envelope campaign against the Social Security Act brought the integrity of the whole Democratic administration in question, and Roosevelt took up the issue at the final Democratic rally at Madison Square Garden on October 31.

The Democrats also discussed issues involving the grouping of forces which the plan of their campaign indicated: on June 27 in Philadelphia, Roosevelt attacked the monopolists, and on October 14 in Chicago, he made an overture to small businessmen.

But this concern with specific issues

was accessory to the presentation of the basic contrast between Democratic recovery and Republican depression. In no one of the seven major addresses from June to November did Roosevelt neglect statement of this contrast.

Whereas all campaigns are based to some extent on the candidates rather than the specific issues, the campaign of 1936 was primarily concerned with the personality and the principles of one of the candidates, Franklin D. Roosevelt. In this type of campaign, with its problem mainly that of personal proof, the gathering of great crowds for interstimulation would help; the appearance of the candidate in doubtful areas at a time to foil his opponent skilfully would be important; the careful maintenance of favorable attitudes among the electorate and the dispelling of unfavorable ones would be basic to success. These factors Roosevelt had to assess and control in the 1936 campaign; one of his major tools was his presentation of seven addresses, each shaped in issue and manner of approach to meet an immediate necessity as he perceived it.⁵

ADDRESS IN PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 27

Roosevelt's address at the close of the Democratic National Convention, delivered directly to 100,000 persons—the largest political audience assembled up to that time—and by radio to widespread millions, was highly effective

⁵ Textual authenticity was, therefore, a matter of considerable importance to the investigator. At length, recordings of each address were obtained: one from a now defunct commercial company, Audio-Scripions, Incorporated; four from the National Broadcasting Company; two, by request of Senator Karl E. Mundt of South Dakota, from the National Archives in Washington, D. C. In three instances mechanical errors in the transcriptions made reliance upon another source necessary. The investigator checked the stenographic accounts of Henry M. Kanee, official reporter, which are on file at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park, New York, and used the text there shown at these points.

⁴ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1936.

politically. In this task of reselling himself to the American people, Roosevelt needed to integrate the forces which would support him and to reduce the adherents of the group challenged to the fewest and weakest possible. Hence he made a vigorous attack upon the small group of finance-capitalists, labelling them "economic royalists."⁶

Roosevelt urged Americans to fight for economic liberty in 1936 as they had fought for political liberty in 1776. This comparison may well be criticized as to the entities it compares and to its use of causal relationship. Its power lay in its designating as the foe the small group of capitalists which all other economic groups would find it easy to attack, and in its alignment of government and people in a common struggle against this labelled opponent.⁷ This argument relative to the winning of economic freedom through the defeat of the "royalists," to which struggle the Democratic Party had just rededicated itself, was the only extended line of reasoning in this address.

This simplification of argument was well adapted to the size of the audience and to the emotional pitch of the

listeners. Though inherent in the problem, the question of how far government may go in striving to help win economic freedom without itself destroying the goal was wisely passed by; Roosevelt chose to keep the emphasis upon the goal to be achieved.

Roosevelt represented himself as the trustworthy leader to guide in the march toward the goal. His reference to the "grave responsibility" which was still upon him as President, his indirect reference to his contact with world affairs, his declaration of the country's conquest of fear—these attested his reputation as an honored, successful leader, worthy of continued faith. The gratitude which he expressed to widespread groups for help and sympathy showed him as humble; the assessment of faith, hope and charity as "supports" in the cause stamped him as dedicated to high ideals;⁸ the declaration of his government's feeling for the common man in adversity demonstrated his understanding and kindness.⁹ Roosevelt's presence, his powerful voice, and his exalted message were in key with the size of the audience, an audience which had been previously integrated by response to stirring music.¹⁰ Further, his salutation to "my friends here and in every community throughout the land" enlisted their support through warm expression of his own feeling. Doubtless his opponents were scornful of these appeals and resentful of their power.

⁶ This epithet served Roosevelt well in concentrating the vigor of his attack upon the capitalist group. Frances Perkins, however, declared that this challenging phrase had "marred the spirit of unity" at the Convention and spoke of the "resentment" that it caused. *The Roosevelt I Knew* (New York, 1946), p. 122. Oscar R. Ewing, once vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, pointed out that the phrase has now become a part of everyone's political vocabulary. "He was a party man," *New Republic*, CXIV, Supplement (April 15, 1946), 537.

⁷ Included in this comparison lay refutation of the complaint of the "royalists" that Roosevelt sought to overthrow the institutions of America. Such a charge had been brought by Eugene Grace, speaking on May 28 at the American Iron and Steel Institute in New York City. "Industry and the Public," *Vital Speeches*, II (Aug. 1, 1936), 678. A similar accusation had been made by Alfred P. Sloan, President of General Motors Corporation, in a speech in Los Angeles on May 22, 1936. "Shall We Have More—Or Less?" *Ibid.* (June 1, 1936), 541.

⁸ Roosevelt took the oath of office with his hand upon the Bible open to these verses. (Placard upon the family Bible viewed in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, August, 1947).

⁹ He expressed his concept of the personal nature of government in telling phrase: "Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

¹⁰ Raymond Clapper reported that the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra played the final movement of a Tschaikowsky symphony and that Lily Pons sang the "Song of the Lark." *Washington Daily News*, June 29, 1936.

Pathetic proofs were indeed strong in this vigorous oratorical effort. Roosevelt's early and direct statement of the purpose of the address as well as his implication that any report made to this audience would of necessity be candid, challenged their judgment. Even stronger motivative appeal lay in his clear differentiation of an opponent—the capitalist group—and his designation of his supporters as an army on crusade against that foe, newly dedicated to go forth again under the former banners. The scriptural references,¹¹ the allusion to Dante, the quotation from "an old English judge,"¹² echoes of the Gettysburg Address and the Declaration of Independence tacitly respected their literary and spiritual attainments. His compliment to Philadelphia as a good place in which to "write history" was linked to patriotic fervor, not only for residents, but for all Americans.¹³ Recognition of the worth of the individual and expressions of gratitude for support and cooperation¹⁴ were especially powerful ap-

peals in an address given by Roosevelt the President and honored leader, rather than by Roosevelt the Farmer, or Roosevelt the Good Neighbor, for concern shown by a person in high place is pleasing to the recipient. The selfishness inherent in economic struggle Roosevelt reinterpreted; he showed this cause as the true cause of democracy not only for our nation but for the world, a concept which dignified the struggle in the eyes of the crusaders.

Holding to this simplified thesis, using less colloquial language than elsewhere, employing parallel structure and strong epithets, Roosevelt applied his unusually flexible voice to bring out the idea of high matter considered in high company: he clarified ideas;¹⁵ he represented attitudes toward ideas and recommended favored ones for the acceptance of the audience.

The power of his speaking was demonstrated not only in the favorable reaction of his immediate audience¹⁶ and in his own assessment of its success,¹⁷ but also in the antagonism and worry it aroused. Reaction to the term "economic royalists" showed in the words of Colby Chester, president of the National Association of Manufacturers: "On behalf of American industry we ask a truce to fault-finding and indictment

¹¹ Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt spoke of her late husband's use of Biblical phraseology in an interview granted the writer on August 17, 1947, at Hyde Park. She pointed out that, as a boy attending Groton School, he had read through the Bible repeatedly.

¹² Roosevelt's words were "Necessitous men are not free men." Similar words were used by William Pitt in his speech on the India Bill in 1783; this English statesman, who was called to the bar in 1780 and had served on the western circuit, stated in his speech of advocacy: "Necessity is the argument of tyrants; it is the creed of slaves."

¹³ Here again was tacit refutation, for Hoover, speaking in Philadelphia before the Republican Women of Pennsylvania on May 4, 1936, had made this acid statement:

In another sixty days the New Deal party will convene in this city, where American liberty was first proclaimed. . . . I trust those gentlemen will bare their heads before Independence Hall. Under the invisible presence of the men who founded a nation that liberty might live, they should apologize to the American people.

"Constructive Alternatives," *Vital Speeches*, II (June 1, 1936), 556.

¹⁴ "In our strength we rose together, rallied our energies together, applied the old rules of common sense, and together survived."

¹⁵ Margaret L. Suckley, archivist at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York, and relative of the late President, made the following statement in a letter of October 21, 1947, to the writer:

Mr. Roosevelt often expressed the thought that many public speeches and writings . . . were written in language that the average man could not understand. He said he tried, in his own speeches, to use simple language—"words of two syllables, so to speak" so that every one would understand what he was talking about.

¹⁶ They broke into applause thirty-four times during the address and cheered him for ten minutes at the close. *Newsweek*, VIII (July 4, 1936), 9.

¹⁷ Raymond Moley reported that the President was "delighted with the triumphant reception of the speech." *After Seven Years* (New York, 1939), p. 348.

and a new day of tolerance, understanding, and mutual helpfulness."¹⁸ Editorial comment was quick to label the address as "emotional."¹⁹ Although Walter Lippmann felt reassured in Roosevelt's seeming adoption of the policies of earlier American progressives,²⁰ Ogden Mills was roused to strong refutation by the implications of the address, for he did not believe Roosevelt's condemnation of monopolies sincere.²¹ Thus Mr. Roosevelt's acceptance address seems to have met the situation skilfully, winning the fervent approval of the immediate audience, satisfying the requirements of the favoring groups, and stimulating the antagonism of the disaffected ones. Mark Sullivan summarized: "A general judgment is that President Roosevelt, by his acceptance speech at the close of the Philadelphia convention, won a certain advantage of position. By the eloquence and finish of his performance he, so to speak, took the psychological offensive."²² Especially in a campaign in which the incumbent understood correctly that his personality and habits of action were the crux of the problem and in which he proposed to discuss "attitudes toward problems" rather than the problems themselves was this question of psychological reaction important.

ADDRESS IN SYRACUSE, SEPTEMBER 29

Roosevelt opened his actual campaign on September 29 with an aggressive address at the Democratic State Convention in Syracuse, New York. Repeated

¹⁸ "Money is Not Enough," *Vital Speeches*, II (Aug. 1, 1936), 685.

¹⁹ For example, *Washington Post*, June 29, 1936; *New York Herald Tribune*, June 29, 1936.

²⁰ Radio address of June 28, 1936. "The Two Conventions in Perspective," *Vital Speeches*, II (July 15, 1936), 652.

²¹ Speech before the Women's National Republican Club in New York City, June 30, 1936. "A Revolutionary Proposal," *ibid.*, p. 658.

²² *New York Herald Tribune*, July 3, 1936.

charges by Al Smith, the Hearst newspapers and McCormick that Roosevelt had Communistic leanings required an answer; also the presence of Dubinsky, an alleged leftist, on the list of Democratic electors of New York was causing violent discussion. Roosevelt needed to answer, and to answer in New York State.

Speaking to one thousand delegates from the districts of New York State, to additional thousands of Syracusans eager for this first real political address of the campaign by their former governor, and to radio listeners throughout America, Roosevelt took up the Communist charge. Denying that Communism was a controversial issue between the parties, he offered his heritage and his record as proofs of his constant adherence to American government. He argued that conditions of social unrest provide the most favorable ground for the growth of Communism, and that the country's welfare was safer in Democratic hands because Republican leadership in 1936 was the same old leadership and would again allow the conditions conducive to Communism to develop. The President's argument failed to explain his administration's inability to eliminate unemployment, and failed to take into account the reconstruction within the Republican party.²³ Furthermore, his reiterated claim that the New Deal's remedies had been brought "within" American institutions took no account of the Supreme Court's invalidation of his key measures, the AAA and the NRA. However, the complete reversal of the charge—from his being called a Communistic destroyer of Ameri-

²³ Landon had refused cooperation with certain Old Guard leaders. *Newsweek*, VIII (Sept. 5, 1936), 11. He had also insisted on a liberal platform (*New York Times*, June 12, 1936), and had drawn little-known Kansans about him for his advisory group (Krock, Arthur, *ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1936).

can institutions at the outset of the address to self-characterization as a liberal conservative and a guardian of our institutions in the conclusion—was effective repudiation of the charge before the favorable audience and unacceptable argument to those listeners who did not grant the premises.

This address depended more directly than any other of his in the campaign upon the establishment of strong ethical proofs, for its sole purpose was to deny that Roosevelt was a Communist. Although the alignment of himself with honored leaders of the past who had been similarly attacked,²⁴ and his praise of other New Yorkers, even of Al Smith who had attacked him severely on the question at issue, were effective steps toward accomplishment of his purpose, yet the chief personal appeal came directly and powerfully from the major argument of his address—that his administration had removed the basis for the growth of Communism in America. His presentation of Landon's claims by ludicrous imitation²⁵ made his own seem the wiser by comparison. This basic argument appealed strongly to the fundamental drives of self-preservation and love of family and home, and thus won wider acceptance.

In contrast to the use of a single basic idea, as in the Philadelphia address, this speech depended particularly upon

the progressive unfolding of the ideas. Having repudiated the "false" issue of his Communistic leanings, Roosevelt proceeded to clarify the "real" issue of the development of Communism in America by discussing three logical steps—the conditions under which it would develop; the comparison of the action of the opposing parties on these conditions;²⁶ the certainty of Republican return to neglect of such conditions—steps leading to the conclusion that democracy was safest in Democratic hands. Therefore, because the conclusion lay several steps from the opening position and the audience needed clear guidance through the steps, arrangement played a vital part in the effectiveness of this address. It is likely, however, that more time should have been devoted to the claim of the unchanging nature of Republican leadership, for want of proof at this point weakened the structure of the whole argument.

Roosevelt expressed these arguments in small segments of thought which allowed directness and vigor of approach to subject and audience; he concentrated the attention of his hearers upon these individual ideas by the use of rhetorical questions, of repetition, of exclamatory expressions, of careful transitions, of significant changes of rate. The power of anecdotal language in setting the key of ideas was well illustrated in the "silk hat" episode, which lacked the informality of words and expressions that characterized the pass-key story of the Madison Square Garden address,

²⁴ ". . . a malicious opposition charged that George Washington planned to make himself king under a British form of government; that Thomas Jefferson planned to set up a guillotine in every square under the French Revolutionary form of government; that Andrew Jackson soaked the rich—soaked the rich—of the Eastern seaboard and planned to surrender American democracy to the dictatorship of a frontier mob. They called Abraham Lincoln a Roman Emperor; Theodore Roosevelt a Destroyer; Woodrow Wilson a self-constituted Messiah."

²⁵ By childish phraseology and mocking sing-song voice he simulated Landon's radio style. One newswriter pointed out that "no listener mistook the object of his mimicry" and that it "set his audience howling with delight." *Time*, XXVIII (Oct. 12, 1936), 13.

²⁶ His delineation of the results of twelve years of Republican neglect gives one of his clearest pictures of the depression: "Do I need to recall to you the fear of those days—reports of those who piled supplies in their basements, who laid plans to get their fortunes across the border, who got themselves hideaways in the country against the impending upheaval? Do I need to recall the law-abiding heads of peaceful families, who began to wonder, as they saw their children starve, how they would get the bread they saw in the bakery window. . . ?"

but which vividly portrayed an immediate gratitude changing with time and fortune to ingratitude.²⁷

This address in repudiation of Communistic support brought articulate reaction. The President's claim of "clear and consistent adherence" to the letter and spirit of the American form of government brought the natural denial of men who did not hold his basic interpretation of the function of government.²⁸ Al Smith was quick to argue that social legislation activity in New York State had differed significantly from that of the New Deal.²⁹ However, the speech seems to have served Democratic purposes well, for it aroused enthusiasm in party ranks especially in New York State,³⁰ and it rather effectively removed the issue from the campaign despite the prediction of Mark Sullivan that Roosevelt's very emphasis upon this issue would increase the public's consideration of the charge.³¹

ADDRESS IN PITTSBURGH, OCTOBER 1

Roosevelt presented a vigorous address on what has usually been considered a dull, uninteresting subject—the budget—before an enthusiastic crowd of more than sixty thousand at the

²⁷ "In the summer of 1933, a nice old gentleman wearing a silk hat, fell off the end of a pier. He was unable to swim. A friend ran down the pier, dived overboard and pulled him out, but the silk hat floated off with the tide. After the old gentleman had been revived, he was effusive in his thanks. He praised his friend for saving his life. Today, three years later, the old gentleman is berating his friend because his silk hat was lost."

²⁸ For example: the Republican National Headquarters (*New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1936); John W. Davis, speaking on October 20, 1936, "Principles," *Vital Speeches*, III (Nov. 1, 1936), 36-37.

²⁹ Speech of October 1, "I Am an American before I Am a Democrat," *ibid.* (Oct. 15, 1936), 17.

³⁰ Warren Moscow reported that New York delegation leaders felt that the speech gave them an answer to take back to their home districts. *New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1936.

³¹ *New York Herald Tribune*, Oct. 1, 1936.

National League baseball park in Pittsburgh. Interest in this occasion was particularly strong, not only because Democratic registration in this traditionally Republican state had raised party hopes, but because only four blocks away the Republican vice-presidential candidate, Knox, was speaking at a rally and because Al Smith was to go on the air in New York at the end of the President's address.

Roosevelt argued that his administration's decision to borrow funds for the purpose of alleviating the disastrous results of the depression, rather than increasing taxation or neglecting the people's need, had been wise. His further contention—that increasing national income would cover repayment without additional taxation and thus allow the balancing of the budget—pleased his Forbes Field audience,³² but it is probable that it failed to convince many in his radio audience who remembered his previous similar promises.

Roosevelt made no reference to his activities on behalf of organized labor and needed to make none. Without doubt the strongest ethical proof in this address, at least for his immediate audience, was the President's reputation as the friend of labor. Nevertheless his sustained comparison of government's financial records and baseball's box scores—including references to "management of your team," "the national scoreboard," and a "shut-out for the team"—greatly increased the good will of his listeners.³³ Also Roosevelt's bas-

³² Doubtless the audience contained large contingents of miners. At the close of the address the president of District No. 5 of the United Mine Workers was to make a surprise award to the President. Philip Murray, vice-president of the national union, was seated on the platform.

³³ Charles W. Hurd declared: "Not a little of the favorable response of the crowd and its enthusiasm was ascribed by observers to the fact that Mr. Roosevelt humanized an otherwise dry

ic premises—that government finance could and should be made understandable to the people—held strong motivational appeal in their recognition of the value and common sense of the citizen. His pride in the achievements of his administration represented in the figures of the budget was evidenced before the listeners and afforded them strong motivation to react in the same fashion; also his manifestation of trust in the understanding and acceptance of this audience afforded deep pathetic appeal.

Consonant with the vigor of the baseball terminology in this speech was the vividness of colloquial expressions, familiar comparisons and direct questions at the conclusion of ideas. In this address, as in the Syracuse speech, his use of vocal loudness was of special assistance in bringing out the vivid contrast between Republican and Democratic policies. And this vigorous, direct, informal analysis of the problem not only brought an enthusiastic response from his minor audience but stirred his opponents to animated replies. Both Landon and Hoover dedicated a full address to answering this address.³⁴ Al Smith's radio address which was given at the very close of the President's address sounded a bitter note from both a personal and a political point of view; his strongest charge was that the President had turned aside from his promises.³⁵ Although strong rhetori-

discussion of the deficit by couching his remarks in baseball terminology at the outset." *New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1936.

³⁴ Landon pointed to the unemployed and the persons on relief as evidence that the President had not balanced the budget of the people, and claimed that Roosevelt's plan of balancing the budget would mortgage the future. *New York Times*, October 10, 1936. Hoover, in a point-by-point attack on the address, denied Roosevelt the credit for recovery and claimed that he was misinterpreting the figures on his scoreboard. "Book, Chapter and Verse," *Vital Speeches*, II (Nov. 1, 1936), 49-53.

³⁵ "I Am an American Before I Am a Democrat," *ibid.*, III (Oct. 15, 1936), 16-19.

cally, this argument was somewhat weak through its neglect of the reservation with which Roosevelt had conditioned his promise.³⁶ John W. Davis, Democratic presidential candidate in 1924, challenged whether spreading the habit of government support of the individual was truly a humanitarian use of public money.³⁷ These attacks proved nothing more clearly than the truth that specific issues were not the crux of the 1936 campaign, but rather that the whole concept of government in its relation to people was the true problem under discussion.

ADDRESS IN OMAHA, OCTOBER 10

In an address of high artistic quality and oratorical power in Omaha, Nebraska, on October 10, Roosevelt assured twelve thousand Nebraskans and Iowans of their importance in the national picture. Certain factors had made a Presidential speech in the Midwest essential: Landon's strong effort to win the farm belt to his candidacy, and the drought of midsummer with resulting shortages which forcibly brought into question the administration's policy of production curtailment. The possibility that Roosevelt's appearance might further the re-election of Norris, veteran Republican New Deal Senator from Nebraska, also made such a speech desirable.

Analyzing the farmers' plight in 1932 as the result of surpluses caused by reduction of European markets, a condition worsened by the Republican Farm Board and Smoot-Hawley tariff, Roosevelt set forth a more thorough contrast of Republican and Democratic action on a definite problem than in

³⁶ In his Pittsburgh address four years before Roosevelt had declared that need on the part of the people might call for expenditures that would keep the budget out of balance. *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (New York, 1938), I, 795-810.

³⁷ Address of October 20, 1936. "Principles," *Vital Speeches*, II (Nov. 1, 1936), 34-37.

any other address of the campaign. Pointing out the increasing farm income, he specified seven steps which the Democratic administration had taken for agriculture.³⁸ Roosevelt attacked Landon's suggestion of tariff-equivalent payments but advocated conservation, farm tenancy, and crop insurance, as had his opponent.

Roosevelt's presentation of the farm problem showed him a leader with a well-reasoned view of agriculture—he saw the farmer's position in the national picture and recognized the need of his help in setting up the policies;³⁹ he proclaimed the farmer's right to a share in the advantages of modern living, to security for his old people and opportunities for his children. Furthermore, his explanation that Democratic aid to the farmers had redeemed his pledge to them was effective in demonstrating his integrity, an appeal of especial value in this contest over his use of delegated power. Again, Roosevelt's appeal to the basic drives of self-preservation, love of family and home, self-esteem and ownership of property was particularly strong in this address, an appeal directed to his farmer audience but forceful to all listeners who grasped the interrelation of welfare problems throughout the country.

After a strong solicitation of support for Senator Norris, the President presented a unified argument on the single theme that Democratic government, in contrast to Republican administrations, had acted and would act for the farmer

³⁸ Specificity was desirable because the presumption would be in favor of his opponent who came from the farm area.

³⁹ George N. Peek and Hugh S. Johnson came from the Moline Plow Company of Illinois to Washington in the spring of 1933 to suggest plans for agricultural and industrial recovery. The Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, and several other large farm organizations had much to do with the planning of the Agricultural Adjustment Act. Rauch, *op. cit.*, pp. 66, 68.

in line with his best interests. He centered attention on this theme, developed it vividly and roundly, and finally dignified it by showing its relationship to the welfare of the whole nation. By transitional questions,⁴⁰ colloquial terms for disparagement,⁴¹ indirect approach for disparagement,⁴² strong representation by voice of scorn, amusement, gravity, challenge and conviction—by these methods he dealt vigorously with his enthusiastic farm audience.⁴³ And the President told Mayor Butler of Omaha on the way to the train at the conclusion of the address that he had never before had such an appreciative audience.⁴⁴

John T. Lambert pointed out that Roosevelt's speech was privately criticized on the basis that it might give

⁴⁰ Such phrasing of transitions increases their prospective force, for it concentrates the attention of the listeners upon a specified segment of the reasoning. Roosevelt used his questions thus: closing one segment with the words "we have done what we said we would do," he opened the following sentence with the question, "And what needed to be done?"

⁴¹ For example, he spoke of the Republican administration in the following fashion: "Do you want to turn it over to those who now make inconsistent, campaign-devised, half-baked promises which you and they know they cannot keep?"

⁴² Roosevelt minimized the Republican suggestion of tariff-equivalent payments by two devices: one, hesitation on the name of the plan as though it were too unfamiliar for one to be really certain of it; and the other, verbalization of this hesitation with the words, "I think they are called."

⁴³ The effect of the closely-packed auditorium and the press of the thousands outside was doubtless greater upon the emotions and attitudes of a country audience, unused to the pressure of numbers. The sense of general excitement was pointed out by Mrs. Gilbert M. Hitchcock, widow of Nebraska's Senator. (Letter to writer, May 24, 1948) Also the influence of Farley's slighting reference to a "typical prairie state" may have put Nebraska upon its mettle in the quality of Roosevelt's reception. Note the key of this welcoming editorial in a Republican newspaper: "The keys of the city are his, the plaudits of its people and their neighbors. We hope the president of the United States will as thoroughly enjoy his visit as we of this typical prairie state enjoy his coming." *Omaha Evening World-Herald*, Oct. 10, 1936.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1936.

his opponents too many openings, as in his defense of the tariff-trade treaties, for example.⁴⁵ Two other arguments were severely attacked: his claim of Democratic credit for the improvement of the farmers' income⁴⁶ and his defense of the cost of the Democratic farm program.⁴⁷ Despite warm reception of this address in Omaha, Roosevelt continued his militant attitude on the agricultural issue as he pushed westward on his campaign tour. Thus Roosevelt seems to have met the situation with arguments and presentation highly acceptable to his immediate audience, regardless of interpretations vigorously questioned by his critics.

ADDRESS IN CHICAGO, OCTOBER 14

Roosevelt, swinging eastward on his speaking tour through "doubtful" Midwest states, delivered a powerful and politically astute address in the Chicago Stadium on October 14, 1936. Welcomed in this business-minded city by one hundred twenty-five thousand labor and ward marchers as well as by throngs on every street, and by laudatory speeches of introduction, Roosevelt assured the businessmen that their welfare had been the care of the Federal government and that they were, indeed, integral parts of the national structure.

The President had been told repeatedly on this Midwest tour by state leaders and candidates that his chief opposition in this area came from men with small and medium-sized businesses.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Washington Herald*, Oct. 12, 1936.

⁴⁶ This claim was challenged in view of the survey of world economic conditions prepared for the League of Nations, a report which cited "world-wide industrial recovery" as the major factor. *Washington Post*, Oct. 14, 1936.

⁴⁷ The Republican Committee issued a statement the following day, thanking Roosevelt for proving in this address that spenders couldn't be "trusted to balance the budget." *New York Times*, Oct. 12, 1936.

⁴⁸ Leach, Raul R., *Chicago Daily News*, Oct. 15, 1936.

Roosevelt's experienced political advisers indicated to him, however, that the "slide" to Democratic standards had begun;⁴⁹ hence the time was likely considered ripe for an overture to small businessmen, who would now be seeking adjustments as they saw affairs beginning to take shape.

Roosevelt's argument attempted to show the businessmen that the administration had brought them recovery, that it neither had been, nor would be, antagonistic to their welfare. He specified benefits brought to six groups of men—depositors, investors, merchants, employers, railroad men, middlemen in farm products—but oversimplified the picture and assigned results to partial causes. He enhanced the strength of his argument (as in the Syracuse and Omaha addresses) by setting forth vividly the contrast between Democratic achievement and Republican failure. Listing the Democratic gains as steps taken in answer to needs felt by businessmen in 1933, he carefully differentiated between speculators and the majority of businessmen, declaring that he favored individual enterprise except at the expense of society.

With the exception of the opening salute to Chicago, all ethical proofs in this address sprang from the analysis of the Democratic government's achievements for business: Roosevelt emphasized his solicitation of good will by characterizing the ingratititude of businessmen who withheld credit due as patients who "throw their crutches at the doctor." No stronger pathetic proof could have been offered these businessmen than the contention woven throughout the fabric of the entire address—that Roosevelt and his government had res-

⁴⁹ Farley pointed out that private reports a few weeks before polling day made it clear to those experienced in politics that a "slide" was on. *Behind the Ballots* (New York, 1938), pp. 322-323.

cued private business from the plight into which the Republican administration had allowed it to fall. Denying that business had played a part in its own recovery, he forfeited this claim on the good will of his audience and maintained consistency with the thesis of his address.

Roosevelt's address to business used a significant metaphor to illustrate the principal thesis, comparing the rescue and repair of a derailed train with his administration's activities for the recovery of business; for a similar purpose he had used the baseball analogy in the Pittsburgh address and the changing car model comparison in the agriculture speech in Omaha. Using a conversational mode of speaking, Roosevelt appeared to be reasoning through these problems with his auditors, but he portrayed vocally his reactions of pride, conviction and irony.

The frequent storms of applause which punctuated the address were duplicated in the newspaper accounts of the effectiveness and vote-getting nature of the speech.⁵⁰ The main challenges of the speech were to its sincerity,⁵¹ to its interpretation of the facts in the situation,⁵² and to the issues which the President omitted.⁵³ There was some feeling that Roosevelt's assurances to business had dispelled fears, and persons close to the President predicted that he would carry Michigan and Illinois as a result

of his work there in the last thirty-six hours.⁵⁴ Hence it seems that Roosevelt's Chicago address showed him a clever campaigner in his deftness in discriminating between "the overwhelming majority of businessmen" and the monopolists, and in his encouragement to the business group to consider itself an integral part of the economic structure.

ADDRESS IN WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS,
OCTOBER 21

Roosevelt, on an exciting journey among throngs gathered through New England, delivered in Worcester, Massachusetts, on October 21, 1936, a lucid address on taxation. In this city having the one truly Democratic newspaper in New England, the President set forth his theory of democracy in taxation, explaining that few persons had carried heavier tax loads because of his administration's measures, whereas many had borne lighter burdens. Many problems of finance were stirring the voters in mid-October, 1936: a vigorous radio attack on the President's expenditures by Senator Vandenberg; a bitter arraignment of Roosevelt's Pittsburgh speech by Hoover and a spirited defense of the stand by Morgenthau; Landon's strong criticism of the use of relief funds and his reiterated demand that Roosevelt explain his intentions regarding the restoration of the NRA.

Resuming the comparison of the economic struggle in 1936 with the political struggle of 1776—the comparison which he had drawn in the Philadelphia address—Roosevelt explained taxes as the "dues" in an "organized society," and showed with arguments of varying validity that Democratic taxation was moving toward greater use of the "American principle" of the ability-to-pay doctrine. The clearest and most compelling reason

⁵⁰ For example, *New York Post*, Oct. 16, 1936; *New York Times*, Oct. 16, 1936.

⁵¹ Sullivan, Mark, *New York Herald Tribune*, Oct. 20, 1936; *Washington Post*, Oct. 16, 1936. Landon called these assurances to business "lip-service." "Campaign: Nominees Refute Each Other," *Newsweek*, VIII (Oct. 24, 1936) 14.

⁵² For example, his representation of high finance refusing credit to the industrialist, the businessman, etc. *Washington Star*, Oct. 15, 1936.

⁵³ Roosevelt did not answer Governor Landon's direct question stated in his Detroit address of the preceding evening, "Does the administration plan to reenact the NRA?" *New York Times*, Oct. 14, 1936.

⁵⁴ Hurd, Charles W., *ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1936.

appeared in his use of explanation and statistics to refute the "tax misinformation" which he declared the public had been receiving.

The clear deductive movement from his demonstration of ability-to-pay as the American way to the designation of his steps in taxation as proper moves toward this goal was powerfully effective in showing that Roosevelt had handled the tax problem well. Furthermore, the clarity and vigor of his explanations concerning the "misinformation" attested his intelligence and perspicacity. These arguments struck significantly at the same deep human drives so repeatedly appealed to by Roosevelt—those of self-preservation and love of family and home. As in many of Roosevelt's addresses, explanation of an idea held within it refutation of a charge which had been levelled against him; here his emphasis that the goal which he was setting for the nation was one in which Massachusetts had believed from Revolutionary days was an answer to the charge of having turned America aside from her traditional course in government.

Clear exposition through amplification and definition brought the lucidity needed in an address on taxation. Concrete imagery,⁵⁵ disparaging terms for opponents, interrogatory refrain, pertinent anecdote—these added directness and power to the explanation of taxation. Roosevelt varied the expository nature of this address with forceful utterance of key sentences, with belligerent tone and taunting note, and achieved a directness of delivery consonant with the requirements of the smallest face-to-face audience to which he had delivered a

⁵⁵ An example from his refutation of the charge of burdening the next generation by over-generous spending follows: "Now let's keep this little drama straight. The actors are the same. But the act is different. Today their role calls for stage tears about the next generation."

major political address in the campaign. His speech was a significant political explanation of taxation with enough clarity to assist the immediate audience in grasping the ideas but enough oversimplification, omission and slanted interpretation to arouse his critics.

Although polls in Massachusetts showed no change in attitude after Roosevelt's speeches there,⁵⁶ the Worcester address on taxation drew a thirty thousand-word press reply from Landon on his southwest tour,⁵⁷ and a vigorous extemporaneous reply from Ogden L. Mills.⁵⁸

ADDRESS IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN OCTOBER 31

On October 31, Roosevelt closed his active campaign for re-election to the Presidency with a vigorous address delivered at Tammany Hall's annual rally in Madison Square Garden. Addressing an audience of twenty thousand listeners within the hall, other thousands outside hearing by loudspeakers, and a radio audience on the national hookups of both the Columbia and the National broadcasting companies, Roosevelt made a fiery attack upon the pay-envelope campaign and outlined the objectives of his administration.

October had brought the development of a vigorous last-minute attack upon the Social Security Act of 1935. The Democrats put their orators on the networks to defend the Act; Democratic

⁵⁶ *Washington Post*, Oct. 25, 1936.

⁵⁷ Pressing the idea of significant "hidden taxes," Landon challenged the President's percentage of reduction from 1930 to 1936. The argument turned upon interpretation of terms. Landon also denied "credit to earned income" as a Democratic policy, pointing out that this method had been used by the Republicans for eight years. *Boston Evening Transcript*, Oct. 23, 1936.

⁵⁸ Mills repeated the challenge of the eight million still unemployed, and declared that the New Deal government was travelling in the same direction as the totalitarian governments of the Old World. *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1936.

newspapers explained its provisions; the American Federation of Labor mobilized its local agents to war against the Republican offensive. Although the swing of public favor toward Roosevelt had been pretty well assured by late October, loss of public confidence in him, however it might be brought about, was a real danger. When Roosevelt stood before the strongly partisan audience in Madison Square Garden, he addressed also, by radio, listeners strongly desirous of a careful analysis of Democratic plans for the future, others disturbed by the pay-envelope campaign, and still others deeply fearful of American involvement in European turmoil.

Roosevelt's picture, presented in some form in every speech of the campaign, of the plight of the people in the depression was given in this address by specifying the "fears" of 1932 and the groups which had wished to substitute "peace of mind" for these fears, a valid argument and one effective in the campaign for its emphasis upon the widespread groups which had been helped by the New Deal.

Continuing his attack upon the monopolists, he attacked the specific manifestation of their action in the pay-envelope campaign; his attack was compelling both in the directness of its charges of coercion and deceit and in the pertinency of his explanation that such a policy endangered honest business and questioned the judgment of Republicans who had voted for the Social Security Act. The President's recital of the objectives for which his administration had "just begun to fight" was strong in its cumulative power. This extended list of his actions for social welfare pointed to his reputation as a thoughtful and effective leader. The hatred of the moneyed interests for Roosevelt, mentioned almost vindictively in this ad-

dress,⁵⁹ stamped him, in the eyes of his Madison Square Garden audience and, undoubtedly, in those of most of his radio listeners, as a "good man."

Basic to the whole address was Roosevelt's assumption that the people were with him—not only those who had supported the New Deal from its beginning, but others who had learned to appreciate its goals, the general public who, with him, felt "indignation" at the pay-envelope method of campaigning. In this address, as in the one in Philadelphia, he tied in the efforts of his administration for all those in need with the high goals of the nation, lifting the issue above selfishness and attaching it to the highest motives of citizens.

The ordering of the ideas in this address was effective: Roosevelt marshaled his general attack upon monopoly and then concentrated its accumulated force upon the specific issue of the pay-envelope campaign. In the listing of objectives, he used repetition in opening phrases and refrain to separate an otherwise bewildering array of details into compact groups of cumulative power.⁶⁰

In no other speech of the campaign did excellence in words and form, concentrating upon one strong contrast, produce a passage of such effectiveness as in the attack upon "hear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing government" in this address.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Roosevelt was booed, reported his bodyguard, in New York by "denizens of the Wall Street skyscrapers" and in Boston by Harvard students. Reilly, Michael F., *Reilly of the White House* (New York, 1947), p. 101.

⁶⁰ Roosevelt opened these groups with variations on this phrase, "Of course, we will continue to . . ." and closed them with some form of the refrain, "And for all these we have only just begun to fight." These phrases were significantly consistent with Roosevelt's campaign thesis—that the program was well under way but unfinished.

⁶¹ "For twelve years our nation was afflicted with hear-nothing, see-nothing, do-nothing government. The nation looked to that government but that government looked away. Nine

The confidence of a winning candidate was displayed in the delivery of this address; more surprising, however, were the asperity in the pay-envelope argument, the vigorous overstatement of his opponents' plans to end relief rolls, and the violence of welcome to the "hatred" of the monopolists—outbursts of feeling which his Democratic partisans in Madison Square Garden applauded but upon which his opponents seized.⁶²

Dorothy Thompson criticized this address severely as ending the campaign "on the worst note of his career,"⁶³ and news comment in general pointed out the violence of his attack.⁶⁴

INTERPRETATION

Throughout these lines of argument, which reflected the advances made during his administration, Roosevelt reasoned that, since the present Republican leadership was really the same leadership as before, election of his opponent would mean the return of conditions

mocking years with the golden calf and three long years of the scourge! Nine crazy years at the ticker and three long years in the breadlines! Nine mad years of mirage and three long years of despair! And, my friends, powerful influences strive today to restore that kind of government with its doctrine that that government is best which is most indifferent to mankind."

⁶² His opponents lifted such phrases as "organized money," "met their match," and "welcome their hatred" from their context and used them "with as much sinister implication as both fact and fancy could furnish." Krock, Arthur, *New York Times*, Nov. 4, 1936.

⁶³ She declared, "The Madison Square Garden speech was not good-tempered . . . it was not tolerant, it was not fair, it was not uplifting, it was not even revolutionary. It showed anger, vindictiveness, and a lack of poise which was disturbing. Worst of all, it was not in the least constructive." *New York Herald Tribune*, Nov. 2, 1936. Her charge of unfairness is sustained, for example, through Roosevelt's declaration that he was stating his objectives in answer to those who "silent about their own plans, ask us to state our objectives." Landon had clarified his plans.

⁶⁴ "Election: Landslide Gives Roosevelt Four More Years," *Newsweek*, VIII (Nov. 7, 1936), 8; *New York Times*, Nov. 1, 1936.

and dangers which had existed in the previous Republican administrations.

Basic throughout the campaign was the comparison of the struggle for economic recovery with actual warfare. This analogy provided the framework for his explanation of the costs of recovery, for his enlistment of all citizens in the cause, for retention of himself as the successful leader in a struggle not yet completely won.

Clear explanation and specific examples, either related or named only, were the two most frequently used forms of logical proof. Both aimed directly at the listener's understanding by placing the ideas graphically within his experience. The use of statistics gave validity to the Pittsburgh address on the budget issue; and this form of support was used, to a lesser extent, in explaining, in the Worcester speech, his democratization of the tax structure.

The most serious weakness in Roosevelt's argument lay in his distortion of the picture by incompleteness in the delineation of factors and concentration upon the one or ones suiting his purpose. Such a fallacy in reasoning was likely to attend the simplification of problems for the understanding of the millions of listeners; nevertheless, it was not to be condoned in the reasoning of one who held that the nation must move forward through the education of the people in things political.

Roosevelt's desire to touch the understanding of the listeners may also have been the source of another weakness in reasoning—subtle overstatement or understatement. To condemn him for this practice would be to require unattainable standards of semantic exactness from him; yet, when such designation became a strong element in the fabric of his proof, it became subject to the rules of validity in logical reasoning and thus

fallacious through factual and logical inconsistency.

That the issue of the campaign was indeed single was clearly evidenced by the fact that Roosevelt's conclusions were acceptable or unacceptable, not so much on the basis of the reasoning done or the facts used, as on the basis of the premises from which he started. If the listeners believed that government must be empowered to do whatever the people needed, and in seeking these goals might proceed by experimentation rather than by previously accepted methods—they might believe Roosevelt's arguments and accept his conclusions; if, on the other hand, they held that the governmental sphere of action should be a limited one and that they must have the opportunity to choose, when selecting a leader, among specific methods of reaching national goals—they would deny his arguments and reject his conclusions. This campaign was truly a decision for or against Roosevelt and his premises.

The strongest proof offered throughout the campaign was personal or ethical: Roosevelt, fearless President who had led the people through the crisis to recovery; Roosevelt, leader who dealt on equal terms with royalty in Europe and yet seemed honestly to enjoy his visits over the fences with Iowa farmers; Roosevelt, citizen who felt earnestly that every citizen had a right to a home, a job, some leisure time, and a respected place in society—this man speaking to millions in terms they understood and with homely examples that they appreciated. Of necessity, such ethical proof intensified the opposition of those who denied his principles and resented his popularity, but it brought the support of men in all occupations and in all sections of the country: It was a major cause for his re-election in 1936.

Specific in this total effect were the

references to matters and persons of local interest; the iteration of the salute, "my friends"; the enhancement of his own leadership through intellectual, moral, social and practical abilities; the identification of himself with others of like character (all good Democrats and common people); exclusion of the indicted foes (the "royalists" and any who questioned the good faith of American government); evidences of attempts to make ideas clear to the listeners; and the impression of being thoroughly in command of the situation. The people felt the man in the speech, and they liked the man they felt, or disliked him, in intense fashion.

Perhaps the strongest emotional or pathetic appeal in these addresses was made through the force of empathy, the imaginative and sympathetic identification of the listeners with the power and personality of Roosevelt: the average workaday citizens must have felt themselves marching in the crusade, or fighting the drought with million dollar blows, or scorning those who would leave the country because their taxes had been raised. Roosevelt's audience tended to march with him in these addresses because he was reacting powerfully with phrase, word and voice to his ideas and attitudes.

In addition to this basic pathetic appeal was another, equally persistent and equally cogent. Through all of Roosevelt's addresses breathed his concern for the common man, a concern made evident by his pride in acts which had brought benefits, by his vigorous attacks against the common man's enemies, by his recognition of that man's right to understand and judge on political matters. Such concern provided strong motivation whether the listener sat among the throng before Roosevelt, or at home beside his radio.

The kinetic component in Roosevelt's speeches was compelling to the listener; the ideas themselves, as well as their framing in words and sentences and their vocal utterance, were energetic and forward-moving. Roosevelt was an "enemy of tragedy" and a leader with visions—both these traits, emerging in his speeches, gave a sense of movement which appealed to the listeners through their desire for comradeship in a going venture or worried them with America's swift progress along an unknown path.

These three forms of Aristotelian proof—logical, ethical, and pathetic—obviously did not operate upon Roosevelt's audiences separately. The intellectual modes of expression were fused with high emotion and imagination, as was appropriate for addresses uttered in the final stages of a historic presidential campaign. In Roosevelt's reasoning these three modes of address were not distinct; emotion integrated with thought to shape his conclusions and his loyalties. His superiority as a speaker arose from the fact that his facility with language and voice allowed these ideas, so arrived at, to assume their rightful stature before his audiences.

Roosevelt's pattern of arrangement, though it varied widely in extent and specific form according to the purpose, seemed to comprise these three steps: first, centering attention on the problem in ways such as showing its universality, or pointing out its importance; second, explaining and supporting the thesis; third, placing the immediate problem or solution in its relation to larger purposes or systems of thought.

In some addresses, as in the Philadelphia acceptance address, the use of partition and transitional elements was at a minimum, for the cumulative power of the whole brought the impact of the thesis upon the listeners; in others, as

in the Syracuse speech, these elements identified steps in a line of reasoning by which the audience arrived at a conclusion distant from the starting point. The arrangement was inherent in the material and the occasion.

Roosevelt did not think in vague formulas and general terms, but in specific examples. Similarly, in speaking, he addressed the individual, and made ideas and attitudes real to him with concrete words and imagery; with sentence structure that showed the relative power of ideas and their conditioning effect upon each other; with repetition of introductory element, and with refrain. Characterization achieved by epithet and by attributive or appositional modifier gave Roosevelt a high degree of power in disparagement or praise, and caused his opponents at times to answer his words more forcefully than his arguments.

The echo of fine literature heard in Roosevelt's speeches, both in the words quoted and in the similarity of phrasing or rhythm, did not demean his own language by superiority to it, but rather emphasized the merit of his expression. The Biblical expressions, the echoes of the Gettysburg Address and the Declaration of Independence—these and similar stylistic patterns seemed suited to the key of his own words.

The conclusion that Roosevelt's voice was the one cause of his effectiveness in speaking, as many have casually asserted, must be reassessed. It is true that his unusual flexibility of voice and his excellence of vocal timbre gave particularly full representation of his reactions to ideas, listeners, and the total situation; what must not be overlooked is that this representation was of a person vibrant and engaging, a person vividly real to his audience. His hearers felt the warmth of regard for all persons expressed through the medium of his

voice, but many, without analysis, attributed the warmth to his voice alone and neglected its more fundamental basis in personality.

Hence, playing his selection of speech occasion and subject for utmost advantage in audience approval, employing

his extraordinary resources of thought, language and voice to recapture the faith of the American voters in his leadership, Roosevelt achieved a stump-speaking campaign of such calibre as to assist him significantly in his successful candidacy for re-election in 1936.

THOMAS B. REED'S THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CONGRESSIONAL DEBATING*

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RHETORICAL theory originates from two principal sources: from scholars who have studied the methods of successful speakers and from successful speakers themselves who have written or spoken about the methods they employ. Thomas Brackett Reed exemplified the latter.

While representing the First Maine District in the United States House of Representatives from 1877 through 1899, Reed participated in hundreds of debates. "Who ever raised a debate here that his remarks were not in it, in season and out of season?" McMillan, of Tennessee, once asked.¹ No matter whether the subject concerned the interests of the whole nation, such as the tariff, or only a local interest, such as a port of entry, Reed was active in the debate. Three times he was elected Speaker of the House—51st, 54th, and 55th Congresses. His ingenious methods to outlaw filibustering during the 51st Congress (1889-1891) brought down the full wrath of the Democratic Party upon him, threw the Republicans out of power for two Congresses, and earned for him the international reputation of "Czar Reed." Frequently the object of scathing attack by his opponents, Reed as Speaker rendered several distinguished decisions in language marked by dignity and restraint.

*A condensation of part of a dissertation entitled "The Speaking of Thomas Brackett Reed, 1877-1899" submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Northwestern University in 1948. Professor James H. McBurney directed the research.

¹ *Cong. Rec.*, 48th Cong. (Feb. 5, 1885), 1289.

His congressional speaking was not the only source of his fame as a speaker. On the political platform he defended his own actions and those of his party in every biennial and presidential campaign from 1880 through 1898. The campaign of 1896 is illustrative of the fame he achieved as a stump speaker. Defeated by McKinley for the Republican presidential nomination, Reed started his campaign for re-election to the House of Representatives the latter part of July and ended it on November first. During these months his tour covered the country from Maine to California and several of his audiences were of 10,000 people.² Moreover, he was much in demand as a commencement³ and commemorative speaker and his spontaneous, rapier-like wit made him an effective after-dinner speaker. Such occasions he used for whimsical speeches and political harangues. Both the variety and extent of Reed's speaking, therefore, attest the fact that he was a successful speaker.

Moreover, he was a successful speaker who had a theory of rhetoric. Occasionally, he wrote and spoke about the function and nature of congressional debating. Excerpts of his speeches and writings concerning debating in Congress show clearly formulated ideas on

² Ten thousand farmers came to Gray, Maine (*Portland Daily Press*, Sept. 7, 1896); audience of 10,000 at Morristown, New Jersey (*Portland Daily Press*, Oct. 10, 1896); 10,000 in the Tabernacle at Peoria, Illinois (*New York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 22, 1896); 10,000 at Stockton, California (*Portland Daily Press*, Oct. 30, 1896).

³ On three of these occasions, Reed was awarded the LL.D. degree: Colby University, Columbia University, Bowdoin College.

a subject which had received no special treatment before that time. As a politician interested in rhetoric, Reed made debate a special kind of speaking possessed of a particular function and distinguished by particular characteristics. He could have been the first American rhetorician to make debating a rhetorical subject by itself. Had he written a textbook, it would have antedated Baker's *Principles of Argumentation*.

What Thomas B. Reed's theory was and how he conformed to it in practice are the combined objects of this paper. No effort is made here to present fully all of the debating techniques Reed used.

I. FUNCTION OF DEBATE

Reed's theory of debate was inseparable from his notion of the legislative responsibility belonging to the United States House of Representatives. The House, he believed, was that branch of the Federal Government where action should be taken to solve the problems of the country. Action meant the passage of legislation. But prior to action, deliberation was necessary, and deliberation required debating. Hence debating was a type of speaking which furthered deliberation and enabled Congress to pass legislation.

Reed's emphasis upon deliberation did not mean a like emphasis upon "cooperative thinking," with a minimum of contention, directed toward the best solution of a problem. Such idealism did not prevail in the politics of the 1890's. Deliberation, to be sure, was evaluative but it was also strongly contentious. Some fifty House committees functioned to propose solutions in the form of House bills before deliberation took place. Before ballots were cast, and while the merits of these

solutions were being weighed, Congressmen "deliberated" to express their convictions as well as their sectional feelings and partisanship. Deliberation was thus frequently high spirited, rough-and-tumble battle characterized by "obstacles to reflective thinking."

Reed maintained, nevertheless, that debate aided in the process of deliberation. More specifically, debate served "to guide the whole assembly to right conclusions";⁴ to elucidate the principles of a law proposed or to settle its details;⁵ to point out "the advantages of a thing proposed or the objections which exist against it";⁶ to make for immediate understanding on the floor of the House by hearing both sides so that members could alternately quiz and reply to each other.⁷ Reed believed that deliberation would result if these objectives were met. On the other hand, speaking intended for any purpose other than deliberation was a perversion of the real intent of debate and a "prorogation of parliament."⁸

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF SPEECHES IN DEBATE

A. *Brevity.* Such was the function of congressional debating. Reed rather carefully set forth the characteristics of speaking in debate which would fulfill this function. Debate speeches should be short. Not the long, oratorical outbursts made by Representatives to show the voters back home that their interests were being protected, "not merely the display of the vocabularies of orators," but speeches made while the House operated under the five-minute rule constituted debating. Reed believed that

⁴ Reed, T. B., "Mr. Speaker," *North American Review*, CLIV (Jan., 1892), 12-13.

⁵ Reed, T. B., "A Deliberative Body," *North American Review*, CLII (Feb., 1891), 154.

⁶ "Mr. Speaker," *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

⁷ *Cong. Rec.*, 53d Cong. (May 9, 1894), 4560.

⁸ "A Deliberative Body," *op. cit.*, p. 149.

the popularity of the long speech was based on a misconception that a member's value lay in his oratorical ability. "Hence he speechifies in the *Congressional Record*."⁹ The effect of the long speech was negligible, said Reed, and it "might as well have been delivered in an attic or poured into a fanning machine."¹⁰ Convinced of the superiority of the short speech he declared: "When debate becomes the rule, and speech-making the exception, we shall have a better state of things in that regard; for speech-making contributes more than anything else to the ruin of debate."¹¹

Reed's actions in respect to parliamentary procedure in the House gave further evidence of his belief in the short speech. In the 46th Congress, he objected to allowing an hour's speech because it "encourages the publication of essays and prevents debate."¹² In consecutive Congresses from the 47th through the 50th, he led a stubborn minority in an effort to revolutionize House Rules to outlaw the long speech on inconsequential matters. In each of these Congresses, he sought to outlaw the long speech as a filibustering tactic. In a later Congress he forthrightly declared: "Let us not confuse honest debate with that miserable bastard business by which one man stands here and sets his will against the will of all of us."¹³

A study of Reed's extensive congressional debating reveals only twelve speeches exceeding fifteen minutes, and of these, only three exceeding an hour. His greatest effectiveness came in his

five-minute remarks in running debate. Champ Clark, a Democrat and an opponent, who heard Reed speak many times, eulogized him as the "best maker of short speeches" he had ever heard. "Every one of his speeches was *multum in parvo*," said Clark.¹⁴

B. *Fullness of Discussion*. Although he insisted that the debate speech should be short, he demanded that the debate itself should be exhaustive. "The normal condition of a deliberative assembly," he observed, "is that of debate; a proposition needs to be fully discussed."¹⁵ Similarly, "No harm ever came in a free country by the free discussion of any proposition."¹⁶

Reed was aware, however, that all bills could not be debated exhaustively. The 51st Congress alone was faced with 18,000 bills, resolutions and petitions.¹⁷ About ten percent were considered, and of that number, hundreds were accepted or rejected without a word said. Actually, whether a full discussion was given depended upon how vital the proposal was to the interests of the whole country. Reed considered the tariff, appropriations, and parliamentary procedure as of utmost importance. Whenever any one of these was discussed, he was in the thick of the debate. For each of them he consistently objected to the practice of closing debate at a specified time. It was impossible to estimate in advance how much time would be needed for a full debate. Moreover, he lamented the practice of rushing important bills through in the last few days of a session "in registering the edicts of a few commit-

⁹ Reed, T. B., "The Life of a Congressman," *The Youth's Companion*, LXXI (January 14, 1897), 15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Reed, T. B., "Obstruction in the National House," *North American Review*, CIL (Oct. 1889), 425.

¹² "The Life of a Congressman," *op cit.*, p. 15.

¹³ *Cong. Rec.*, 53d Cong. (Aug. 31, 1893), 1123.

¹⁴ Clark, Champ, "Is Congressional Oratory a Lost Art?" *Century Magazine*, LIX (Dec., 1910), 310.

¹⁵ *Cong. Rec.*, 48th Cong. (Feb. 12, 1885), 1604.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 49th Cong. (Jan. 22, 1886), 838.

¹⁷ Reed, T. B., Federal Club Dinner Speech, in *Daily Tribune* (New York), Mar. 7, 1891, p. 2.

tees."¹⁸ Instead, it was "of the very essence of honest and manly legislation that there should be full and free discussion."¹⁹

C. *Impromptu Speaking*. Not only should debate speeches be brief but they should be impromptu. Speaking on the spur of the moment, with frequent rejoinders to previous remarks, was debating to Reed. In that way, the interchange of ideas could be promoted. Special preparation for a particular speech was, therefore, generally impracticable. Reed expected Congressmen to call upon their accumulated knowledge and background for the substance of their speeches. Notes should not be used. Hence debating was "that sort of speaking in which a man says only what he knows so well that he does not need to put it on paper."²⁰

The importance he attached to the impromptu characteristic of debate may be inferred from his objection to certain practices. He criticized the reporting of debates by newspapers. Since they required that speeches "be written out before delivery and sent by mail,"²¹ newspapers discouraged impromptu speaking. Reed did not edit his speeches and objected to the practice by others. He believed impromptu speaking allowed for grammatical and other minor errors.²² He felt that the total membership of the House, 357 at the time.

¹⁸ *Cong. Rec.*, 49th Cong. (Feb. 28, 1887), 2450.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 49th Cong. (Aug. 2, 1886), 7856.

²⁰ "The Life of a Congressman," *op. cit.*, p. 15.

²¹ Reed, T. B., "How Congress Gets Reported," *Illustrated American*, XXII (Nov. 6, 1897), 590.

²² On one occasion, when it had been moved to amend the *Journal* by changing the word "most" to "many," Reed reminded his hearers that if something different were printed from what had been said, "the subsequent debate will seem to have taken place under an entire misapprehension which is unfair to the other person participating in the debate." *Cong. Rec.*, 55th Cong. (Dec. 13, 1897), 122.

brought together too large a number to make impromptu, give-and-take speaking possible. Thus when the House met as Committee of the Whole for debate, a legal quorum was set at only 100.²³ For the same reason, Reed objected to the architecture of the House Chamber. Calling the floor of the House an area "scattered over a very large space of territory"²⁴ and a "ten acre lot,"²⁵ he proposed that only the middle third of it be used for legislative purposes and the other two-thirds be given over to offices.²⁶ Comparing the British House with the American, he said a member of Parliament "has to cause to vibrate 138,000 cubic feet of air while a member of Congress must set in motion 465,000 feet."²⁷ In each of these instances, Reed objected to the practice or situation because it was not conducive to impromptu speaking.

Even with debate usually limited and with the time controlled by the majority and minority floor leaders, Reed still had ample opportunity to get in many impromptu remarks. The following example was the twenty-fifth time he had participated in one day. Cox (New York) had given a speech Reed thought was memorized. Severely disapproving of the practice of giving a memorized speech several times, Reed delivered a dramatic *ad personam* attack against Cox.

I have heard the gentleman . . . make that speech of his with more or less enthusiasm six times; and I have heard it two other times in antecedent *Records*. I approve of that method of making a speech. The first time a man talks, he has to attend to what he says; the

²³ Reed, T. B., *Reed's Parliamentary Rules*, 1937 ed. (Olympia, 1894), p. 72.

²⁴ *Cong. Rec.*, 55th Cong. (Mar. 29, 1897), 434.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 47th Cong. (Feb. 21, 1883), 3062.

²⁶ Reed, T. B., "The French Chamber of Deputies," *Saturday Evening Post*, CLXXIII (July 21, 1900), 2.

²⁷ "The Life of a Congressman," *op. cit.*, p. 15.

eighth or ninth time he has the opportunity to put in the gestures and to look after his personal interests. (Laughter) . . . I am glad to see the gentleman from New York prance forward in his usual style. After the tragedy, we must always have the farce.²⁸

Reed frequently interpolated impromptu remarks while delivering a prepared or "set" speech. His object was to capitalize on incidents occurring during the address. An illustration of this habit is to be found in the closing debate on the Wilson Tariff Bill. With the House strongly Democratic, Reed faced a hostile audience as he opposed the bill. He knew his opposition would have little effect on the House, but would serve to state to the country the Republican belief in protectionism. A substantial portion of the speech sought to destroy the analogy which his opponents had used so effectively; that the reduced rates of the Wilson Bill²⁹ were comparable to the repeal of the Corn Laws in England. Reed referred to Cobden's crusade as a fight made by manufacturers, whereas the fight for the Wilson Bill was a fight made *against* the manufacturers. Cobden's speeches, said Reed, barely mentioned "protective duties to manufacturers," but stoutly maintained that "all duties were to be abolished so as to make food cheaper." That remark was seemingly an admission that repeal of tariff duties brought lower prices. Reed's speech at that point was interrupted by "Applause on the

Democratic side." He continued, after the applause had subsided, with an impromptu reply.

I am glad to see my Democratic friends recognize a bit of truth, but I am afraid that it is by mistake. It so happens, Mr. Speaker, the Corn Laws were not, as these Democrats in their ignorance imagine, for the protection of the farmer (Laughter). What Cobden was fighting was an odious law enacted to enhance the price of bread, not for the benefit of the farmer, but of the aristocratic owner of land. Workingmen were clamoring for an increase of pay. The manufacturers knew that decrease of the price of wheat was the equivalent of higher pay. Men do not work for money; they work for money's worth.³⁰

Contemporaries considered Reed's impromptu speaking to be of the highest order. It was generally agreed that his impromptu speeches were unmatched and brought him the leadership of his party.³¹

D. Relevancy. As a fourth characteristic of debate speeches, Reed demanded relevancy. Congressmen found it difficult to discuss only the immediate proposition and frequently introduced irrelevant materials. From the beginning to the end of his career, Reed opposed this practice. This opposition began in his "maiden speech," in which he successfully defeated the granting of an indemnity to the College of William and Mary for damages sustained during the Civil War. Loring (Massachusetts), arguing for the indemnity bill, delivered an eloquent hour's oration full of literary quotations and names of famous Americans. Reed considered the bulk of Loring's speech irrelevant to the proposition: whether the granting of the indemnity would set a dangerous precedent and thus be the entering wedge for hundreds of other public and private claims

²⁸ *Cong. Rec.*, 47th Cong. (Jan. 3, 1883), 812.

²⁹ The Wilson Bill, it will be recalled, was the House's answer to President Cleveland's demand for a reduction of the excessive schedules set up by the McKinley Tariff of 1890. McKinley's Bill was passed during the 51st Congress with Reed as Speaker. The panic of 1893 brought a strong public demand for downward tariff revision. Reed, however, remained consistent, and stood his ground for a high tariff. The ultimate fate of the Wilson Bill was its emasculation by the Senate, its return to the House under the name of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Bill, and its becoming law without the signature of President Cleveland.

³⁰ *Cong. Rec.*, 53d Cong. (Feb. 1, 1894), 1783.

³¹ Anonymous, "The Presidency of Mr. Reed," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVII (Feb. 1896), 254.

against the Federal Government. Loring's speech was ridiculed.

I must say that it seemed to me strange when Washington and Jefferson and Sir Christopher Wren were brought in to decide whether we should pay \$65,000 for a burned building; but when it came to the introduction of Milton, and for aught I know to Luther and Locke, I confess I was astounded. (Laughter and Applause.)³²

While sitting as Speaker of the 54th and 55th Congresses, Reed tried to enforce a self-made and simply stated rule: "The debate must be relevant to the subject."³³ So far as he was concerned, it was the Speaker's duty to keep Congressmen speaking to the point. Any Congressman could exercise the same privilege, but because it might be used against him, he was reluctant to raise a point of order. Not so with Reed. He thought it a simple matter to determine relevancy, for "the difference between addressing the House upon a subject that is before it and the making of a political or other discourse upon a subject not before the House is exceedingly obvious."³⁴ Whenever he called a member out of order, he justified his decision in view of the right of the majority to overrule him on appeal.³⁵ Actually, there was no official rule relating to irrelevancy. A rule certainly was needed. But it could never be agreed on in form, or if agreed on, it could never be enforced.³⁶

Perhaps the core of relevancy lay in a member's ability to follow the threads of an argument while keeping the proposition before him at all times. Reed's contemporaries admitted that he possessed this ability. One said he could

³² *Cong. Rec.*, 45th Cong. (Apr. 12, 1878), 2488.

³³ *Ibid.*, 55th Cong. (Feb. 10, 1898), 1636.

³⁴ *Ibid.* (Mar. 1, 1898), 2344.

³⁵ Not a single decision made by speaker Reed was ever overruled.

³⁶ *Cong. Rec.*, 55th Cong. (Mar. 29, 1897), 434.

dense a whole argument into epigrammatic form "worthy of a literary artist."³⁷ An excellent example was his statement of the proposition in his "maiden speech" opposing the College of William and Mary indemnity:

You may bring together Bunker Hill and Yorktown, Massachusetts and Virginia, and tie them together with all the flowers of rhetoric that ever bloomed since the Garden of Eden, but you cannot change the plain, historic fact that no nation on earth was ever so imbecilic and idiotic as to establish a principle that would more nearly bankrupt its treasury after victory than after defeat.³⁸

Joe Cannon once enviously remarked of this ability of Reed's: "I never heard my distinguished friend from Maine take the floor upon any subject but that I did not feel sometimes regretful that I could not crystallize an idea, if I had one, as he does, roll it up with my hands into proper shape, and hurl it at the head of my opponent."³⁹

E. *Evidence*. Reed insisted, in addition, that debate speeches should contain adequate evidence. He once lectured Congress on the need for solid evidence and on the danger of not having it: "Nobody can do us so much injury as members themselves by permitting themselves to insinuate what they do not back up by facts or proof; I want . . . to utter my solemn protest against this method of permitting ourselves to be bespattered."⁴⁰ At another time he remarked that facts and figures were "better than rhetoric."⁴¹

Furthermore, evidence must come from reliable sources. Because hearsay evidence was valueless, Reed condemned the Dreyfus trial which made so much

³⁷ Porter, Robert B., "Thomas B. Reed, of Maine," *McClure's Magazine*, I, No. 5 (Oct. 1893), 386.

³⁸ *Cong. Rec.*, 45th Cong. (Apr. 12, 1878), 2488.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 49th Cong. (Dec. 15, 1885), 209.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 47th Cong. (June 21, 1882), 5187.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 49th Cong. (Apr. 28, 1886), 3953.

use of it. The concept of evidence held by American courts was superior, he felt, because "no testimony is worth having which cannot be put under the searchlight of rigid cross-examination. Justice demands not only the truth, but the whole truth."⁴² Moreover, evidence taken from newspapers was of little value, since it was unverified and colored by the political beliefs of the paper.⁴³ Whenever quoted materials were used, Reed insisted they be given without omissions. Otherwise a "false statement" or "utter misquotation" might be the result.⁴⁴ Finally, the practice of using famous names excessively was condemned. "This quoting of abundant authorities is a good old device of attorneys; when your case is weak anywhere, double the witnesses on the parts where there is little or no dispute. It is a good way to confuse the jury and keep out of mind the point against you."⁴⁵

Reed employed essentially the same type of evidence in all of his speaking. His shorter speeches relied upon "facts or proof" presented to the House by committee reports and by Representatives. To these he would add his opinions and then confidently defend his position. The evidence in his longer, prepared or "set" speeches was more varied. Specially collected materials, as well as materials from his wide reading, were used. Statistics were widely employed and always dramatically interpreted. Basic principles of a philosophical nature, rather than specific details, were explained. Quotations from authorities used by opponents, or acceptable to them, were frequently

brought into his speeches in order to develop a *reductio* or a "turning the tables." In short, Reed's evidence was substantially logical. Emotional appeals were present only incidentally, since they arose out of humor and invective which seemed to be more spontaneous than planned.

F. *Freshness*. Reed believed that congressional debating should be fresh and stimulating. It should not consist of "solemn repetitions of stale arguments" nor should it "meander through the dreary hours with oft-repeated platitudes."⁴⁶ He did not explain what attributes of oral style made for freshness, but examples of his own speaking reveal what he considered important.

To use humor, to chide mildly, was one element. Monroe (Ohio) once agreed to support a bill if its name were changed. This reminded Reed of "the deacon who was a member of a temperance society, who said he could not drink cider, but if they would call it apple juice, he would drink it."⁴⁷

Capitalizing upon incidents by the use of repartee was another element of freshness. Holman, nicknamed "Watch-dog of the Treasury," was one of Reed's special targets. When time for debate on a naval appropriations bill ran out—debate in which Reed had needled the Democrats to exasperation—Holman exclaimed: "I wish to say to the gentleman from Maine he scolds very well; but I could find fishwomen in this town that could beat him at that game." Reed immediately replied: "The gentleman from Indiana—and I take his word for it—says he knows fishwomen in this town who could make a better scold than I am. I admit the fact, and also

⁴² Reed, T. B., "Paris and French Justice," *Saturday Evening Post*, CLXXII (Oct. 7, 1899), 242.

⁴³ *Cong. Rec.* 47th Cong. (June 21, 1882), 5187.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 53d Cong. (Jan. 26, 1894), 1454.

⁴⁵ Reed, T. B., "A Reply to X.M.C.," *North American Review*, CLI (Aug. 1890), 235.

⁴⁶ "A Deliberative Body," *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁴⁷ *Cong. Rec.*, 45th Cong. (Jan. 10, 1879), 415.

congratulate him on the congeniality of his associations."⁴⁸

Invective may also be considered an element of freshness. Roswell G. Horr (Michigan), Reed wrote, was a master in using invective to further his argument. "Every playful turn was a twist of the rapier between the ribs."⁴⁹ Reed approved its use as a debate tactic. It had an immediate effect upon the listeners and was thus stimulating. He never tried to curb his own habit of using sarcasm or ridicule. He carried his attacks at times so far as to ridicule members' knowledge, their intelligence, and the intelligence of districts for electing certain Representatives. For such attacks he was labelled the man who had "stung more men than anybody of his age."⁵⁰ Nevertheless, his debating was stimulating. "When he rose, a hundred members, catching the words 'Mr. Speaker,' hastened from their seclusion and settled into an attitude of attention."⁵¹

Finally, Reed's oral style consisted of many "lively sayings" which were fresh. Figures of speech, epigrams, and vivid language were abundant. Criticizing a rule which allowed an hour for committee reports but no time for action, he remarked: "The only effect of the decision of the committee is that it enables the corpse to be put in a glass case where the friends of the deceased can look upon the remains."⁵² Feeling that the lumber industry of Maine needed to be protected by a high tariff to save it from ruinous Canadian importations,

Reed stated his proposition dramatically.

Why, sir, the very purpose of forests in the economy of nature is to be cut down and have houses built of them. To preserve them is to destroy them in that event. Why, it is like the old argument of Jack to his pie. 'Why,' said he, 'shan't I spoil it once I eat it?' Yes, he will spoil it as a pie; but he will utilize it as an object to keep him alive.⁵³

Reed grew tired of the constitutionality objection frequently raised against proposed measures. When the establishment of a Bureau of Animal Husbandry was proposed, its constitutionality was questioned. Reed, who favored the measure, protested "against this hackneyed degradation of the Constitution by making it a mop-broom to sweep up everything that gentlemen think they do not believe in, for they sometimes sweep up jewels as well as dirt."⁵⁴

Reed's prepared as well as his impromptu speeches contain numerous examples of a distinctive style. The first fifteen minutes of his speech opposing the Mills Tariff Bill sought to expose the absurd position of the Democrats. He showed statistically how the losses supposedly caused by the tariff exceeded the total wealth of the country. Then followed his own definition of the method of argument he had been using: "Thus far I have employed a familiar method of argumentation which is called in Latin *reductio ad absurdum*, or, in plain English, confronting the principles a man lays down with the facts of the universe and showing him the dreadful absurdity of which he has been guilty."⁵⁵ Later on in the same speech, he pointed out an inconsistency. Mills (Texas) had claimed that the woolen tariff had been so high that woolen manufacturers had made fifty-one cents

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 49th Cong. (Feb. 28, 1887), 2451.

⁴⁹ Reed, T. B., "Congressional Oratory," *The Youth's Companion*, LXXII (Dec. 8, 1898), 617.

⁵⁰ *The Chicago Times* (Feb. 2, 1894), p. 1.

⁵¹ Alexander, DeAlva Stanwood, *History and Procedures of the House of Representatives* (New York, 1918), p. 297.

⁵² *Cong. Rec.*, 48th Cong. (Apr. 17, 1884), 3064.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, (Feb. 14, 1883), 2660.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, (Feb. 26, 1884), 1401.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 50th Cong. (May 19, 1888), 4442.

profit a yard. But Marshall (Massachusetts) had argued that because of the high tariff, wool was not being bought and manufacturers were going bankrupt. The positions of the two Democrats were hardly consistent and Reed remarked: "When one insinuates fifty-one cents profit for every yard and the other testifies to bankruptcy we have between them a millionaire insolvent and a beggar rolling in wealth."⁵⁶

It is evident from the preceding examples that Reed's language in debate consisted neither of "solemn repetitions of stale arguments" nor of "oft-repeated platitudes." It was fresh and stimulating and characterized by elements making it distinctive.

G. Intellectual Honesty. Finally, Reed insisted that arguments presented in congressional debate should represent a speaker's true convictions. Without self-persuasion, a speaker could not reach his maximum effectiveness as a debater. That was true of Benjamin F. Butler, Reed wrote, who "did not always believe in his own arguments." In the law courts, Reed continued, that lack would not be critical for "arguments are offered for what they are worth and not for what the lawyer thinks they are worth." But it was different in Congress, since "men are often believed in proportion as they themselves believe. Sound arguments, mixed with unsound, especially if there be the element of distrust, will make but an image of gold and clay, which goes toppling over, good, and bad alike."⁵⁷

Arising out of this attitude was Reed's belief that it was in order to criticize the motives of other Representatives. When appropriations were debated, he inevitably challenged the motives of his opponents. He was thought of as a

"moneyed interest" advocate because he favored liberal appropriations. The Democrats, on the other hand, favored limited appropriations. Reed attacked their policy of economy for what he thought it was—while the Democrats talked economy in the House they depended upon the Senate to increase appropriations by amendments. Thus in the 52nd Congress, controlled by the Democrats, Reed contended that appropriations were several millions more than those of the Republican 51st, or "Billion Dollar Congress," which had been thrown out of power by the voters. What I am pointing out to you is the unspeakable and ineffable humbug of your talk two years ago. (Laughter) I am trying to bring Democracy face to face with itself. I am trying to bring its talk into the usual contradiction of its action. . . . Why, just contrast yourselves with yourselves. Just think of your attitude as you started out in this Congress with a broad placard upon your breasts passed by your own votes, reading: 'Look at us; see how economical we are;' and now look at your results: \$40,000,000 more than what you called 'wicked' in the last Congress! (Laughter.)⁵⁸

Holding as a political maxim the belief that not only arguments but also motives behind arguments were subject to criticism, Reed naturally would be criticized if he changed his opinions. On one occasion when he demanded rules to limit the power of the Committee on Appropriations, which he previously had believed should be a committee of great power, he was accused of inconsistency. To that charge he replied:

I do not promise the members of this House whenever they listen to me to give them wisdom of adamant. I do not promise them I shall not change my opinion when I see a good reason for doing it. I only promise that I will give them honestly what my opinion is at the time. They must take their chances of its being for eternity. (Laughter and Applause.)⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 4443.

⁵⁷ "Congressional Oratory," *op. cit.*, p. 617.

⁵⁸ *Cong. Rec.*, 52d Cong. (June 30, 1892), 5677.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 49th Cong. (Dec. 15, 1885), 210.

Reed's self-assurance and belief in his own convictions were interpreted as conceit and vanity by his opponents. One of them once said of him: "As to the significance of his intellect, why probably it would be rashness for any man to compare himself with what that gentleman *thinks* he is. (Applause and Laughter on the Democratic side.)"⁶⁰ While Reed's estimate of his own ability was challenged by his opponents, his honesty and sincerity were not, for "there was no hypocrisy in the man, and no one ever charged him with double dealing, equivocation or bad faith."⁶¹

III. SUMMARY

Thomas B. Reed was a famous political speaker who expressed a rhetorical theory. He spoke and wrote about congressional debate. In Reed's opinion, debate served the function of making deliberation possible because it brought out the pros and cons of proposed legislation. Debate speeches required certain characteristics to fulfill this function: They should be brief, exhaustive of the subject, impromptu, relevant, packed with solid evidence, fresh, and based upon real convictions.

Reed's congressional debating conformed reasonably well to his theory. During his twenty-two years' tenure in the House, he delivered only twelve

speeches lasting over fifteen minutes. On only three subjects, those on which he was considered an expert—tariff, appropriations, and rules—did he speak at length. However, he insisted that discussion continue until the subject was amply debated. His short and moderately long speeches were exclusively impromptu. He was noted for the relevancy of his argument. A contemporary said that Reed always made his contentions bear directly on the topics before the House.⁶² His evidence was substantially logical, with only incidental emotional appeals. He possessed a vivid oral style characterized by humor, repartee, invective, and "lively sayings." His implicit belief in his own ideas made him a ready debater, and no doubt a vain one, who was difficult to equal and who was rarely overcome.

Reed's theory of congressional debating becomes particularly significant when we realize the impact of its practice upon his contemporaries. For thirty years he appeared before the people of Maine seeking office. Not once was he defeated. He served eight consecutive years in public office in Maine. He was elected to twelve consecutive Congresses in the national House of Representatives. There he was recognized as the "ablest debater the Republicans ever had in Congress," and "the man whom the opposition most dreaded to arouse in verbal combat."⁶³

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 48th Cong. (Feb. 5, 1885), 1288.

⁶¹ *Daily Journal* (Biddeford, Maine), n.d., "Bowdoin College Scrapbook," No. 1.

⁶² Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁶³ Stoddard, Henry L., *As I Knew Them* (New York, 1927), pp. 192-193.

TWO MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY STUDENT SPEECHES

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ONE who reads extensively in the literature of American public address soon learns of the role of the literary society in the training of early American orators. Time after time the student finds scholars assigning great importance to the influence of this almost extinct activity. Hellman believed ". . . the old-fashioned literary society offered a kind of practice that was more generally effective than any other in the development of some of the greatest names in American oratory."¹ Speaking of the rhetorical training of Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Choate, Beecher, Phillips, Henry, Randolph, Lincoln, Seward, Hay, Schurz, Douglas, Ingersoll, Grady, Booker T. Washington, Garfield, and Beveridge, this writer contends that ". . . of the educative factors considered, the literary society was the most consistent single factor contributing to the development of these orators."²

It is not difficult to find confirmation of this point of view. Thomas contends that:

After 1750 one of the most important forces promoting better speech in the colleges emanated not from the faculty and governing bodies but from the students themselves. This force was the literary society, which assumed, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, a distinguished and powerful place in educational institutions. . . . As the nineteenth century progressed, records show that the literary societies became less dominant and that members became increasingly uninterested and irresponsible. But it should be remembered that during the period in which colleges had provided little other opportunity for studying the English language and speech, these groups had done vital

and dynamic work to promote the improvement of speech making.³

When we turn to the literature covering individual speakers we find the same refrain repeated. Bauer speaks of the influence of a literary society in the training of Henry W. Grady: "His particular interests lay in the activities of the literary societies."⁴ In his discussion of Evarts' training, Thonssen says: "Perhaps of greater importance than the regular speaking exercises were the activities into which Evarts entered in the Linonian Literary Society."⁵ Ross is a third writer who recognizes the importance of a literary society in the training of a speaker: ". . . the extra-curricular life of the college was centered in the literary societies. . . . Beveridge entered these activities with an announced determination to win."⁶ The citations could be extended almost beyond the bounds of patience. Perhaps Hellman best sums up one concept of the importance of the speech training of the societies in the era under discussion when he says:

The nub of the matter is, not that the literary society, itself, but the sort of speaking activity in it—the give and take of full and free discussion with a minimum of faculty interference—is the best sort of platform training.⁷

THE PROBLEM

Thus one is reminded of the historical significance of the literary society as a training device in American public

¹ Thomas, Ota, "The Teaching of Rhetoric in the United States during the Classical Period of Education," in *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*, ed. by W. N. Brigance (New York, 1943), I, 199.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 920.

⁷ Hellman, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

¹ Hellman, Hugo E., "The Influence of the Literary Society in the Making of American Orators," *QJS*, XVIII (Feb., 1942), 12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

address. Yet one may search the literature in vain for an example of the type of speaking which was heard in the halls. Although it was common practice in the societies to keep records of the meetings, these archives apparently do not include specimen copies of the speeches.⁸ I have long been curious regarding the characteristics of this type of speech activity. What were the speeches like? How would they compare with modern student speeches? The thought that others may hold this same curiosity moves me to offer two authentic specimens of student speeches as they were spoken one hundred years ago.

THE SETTING OF THE SPEECHES

Since both of the student speeches presented in this study originated in the same college environment, it may be well to view the place of the literary society on that campus at that time. Miami University had opened its doors in 1824. Only a year elapsed before the Erodelphian Society was founded on November 9, 1825,⁹ to be followed immediately by the Miami-Union Literary Society on December 14, 1825.¹⁰ Thus it would seem that such activities early found acceptance among the students.

Of the general college atmosphere, the Reverend Henry W. MacCracken, of the class of 1857, wrote:

We respected all our professors as men of character—but we did not find them exacting teachers—nor did we credit them with getting as much out of us as might have been got. There was hardly any lecturing and hence, little taking of notes. I do not remember being

⁸ For example, complete records exist in the Miami University Library of four college literary societies. These minutes include the subjects for debate and declamation, the critics' names and often their judgments, and frequently other pertinent information. But not the speeches as they were delivered.

⁹ Erodelphian Society, *Minute Book*, I, 1 Miami Library.

¹⁰ Miami-Union, *Minute Book*, I, 1, Miami Library.

required to hand in a single written exercise in the course of four years. It was a college course wonderfully free from what is now known as 'grind.' We students were left very much to educate ourselves—and I am not sure that we did not thereby enjoy a greater stimulus than we should have felt if our professors had occupied more thoroughly our time and attention.¹¹

We should not conclude that instructors a century ago neglected their duties. Rather, it was only that pedagogical procedure was vastly different from that of our own day. Assignments were made daily in the textbook; and students were expected to recite on those assigned readings during the class hour. There was no provision in the regular classroom for creative effort on the part of the student. So it was as an outlet for these creative impulses among the students that the literary society found its greatest usefulness. Of this aspect of the educational environment of the period, MacCracken says:

One of the most active educating forces of the period of which I write, was found in the Literary Societies. . . . The literary society of that day was unremitting, and measurably intelligent in bringing its members forward each week to perform some original literary exercise. It held both an afternoon and evening session, the former for declamation and essay reading, the latter for debate. Along with the literary exercises was a sufficient intermingling of society, politics and business, election of officers, making of constitutions and by-laws, trials of recusant members, collections and expenditures of moneys, and what not. . . . No professor was so valuable to many a student as was his literary society; no classroom was so attractive as his Literary Hall; nor wit or humor more talked of than that which flashed out during the attritions of society debates. No position was so sought as an appointment to be one of the four speakers at the annual exhibition. The peculiar ferment of the nation in the period of which I am writing, which included the rise of the Republican party and the complete triumph of its principles from 1854 until 1866, made the debating society a more powerful educating force

¹¹ *Diamond Anniversary Volume*, ed. by W. L. Tobey and W. O. Thompson, published by Miami University (Hamilton, O., 1899), p. 172.

than it could perhaps be in any ordinary period. . . . The subjects that engaged the brightest minds were politico-moral questions. . . . The air was charged with the storm that soon broke in a fearful civil war. . . . Politics supplied largely for students the excitement which is now found in athletics.¹²

Much of this excitement of political discussion took place, it should be added, within the bounds of the literary halls.

Of the effect of participation in such activity on the later development of the individual, Walter L. Tobey said:

This made ready men, men of power on the platform, men of force in any organized body. It made orators and parliamentarians, two things essential to success in public life. To the literary societies and to the thorough classical training given in the classroom are due, more than to any other two things, the success which has followed graduates . . . in public life, and which has made so many illustrious national characters.¹³

Such, broadly speaking, was the atmosphere, the environment which produced both of the examples of student speeches with which we are here concerned.

THE SPEAKERS

Joseph Brady attended Miami University for five years, graduating in the class of 1848.¹⁴ While a student he was a member of the Miami-Union Literary Society, taking an active part in the proceedings of that body.¹⁵ He also was extremely faithful in the keeping of a diary.¹⁶ Under date of "Friday, April 10, 1846," we find this entry:

Sexton being one of the sectional speakers and wishing to go home tomorrow, it was agreed by the Society, that the speeches should

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

¹⁴ Born July 13, 1822, in Franklin County, Indiana, Brady entered the Preparatory Department of Miami University at the age of twenty-one. Following graduation he was admitted to the bar in 1850, and earned his master's degree in 1851. His career, both in and after college, exhibited capacity which would rank him as superior. He died in Cincinnati, May 24, 1867.

¹⁵ See Miami-Union, *Minute Book*, under dates of 1845-48.

come off upon this, instead of next Friday evening.

The speakers selected by the Society were Sexton, Irwin, and myself. Sexton spoke first. His subject was "Riches—a Secondary Object of Pursuit." His address was too long for the occasion. It was not strictly confined to the subject, but was quite good. His greatest fault was that his sentences were too loosely constructed.

Irwin followed. His subject was "The Development of Genius." Irwin made an excellent address. It was of a very suitable length, requiring but twelve minutes for its delivery, whereas Sexton's occupied over twenty minutes. He stuck very closely to his subject, expressed his sentiments very concisely and elegantly, and produced a very happy effect. I thought it more pointed, as well as more elegantly written, than Sexton's. His speech would have done honor even to a senior.

I spoke last. Of the merits of mine, let others judge. For want of time I was unable to write an address particularly directed to the members of the Society, as I wished to do. Below will be found the address in full.¹⁷

This is all we know of the specific situation giving occasion to one of these two specimens of literary hall oratory. From even these meager details we may be warranted in concluding that we are examining a rather commonplace example of student speeches. The above diary-entry may also be of interest for the light it sheds upon the critical approach of at least one participant in such exercises. Evidently concern was exhibited for unity of subject matter, over-all length, rhetorical style,¹⁸ and

¹⁶ The Miami Library secured two volumes of Brady's diary, the entire period covering his college years, some time ago. This manuscript is detailed and, fortunately, quite legible. It is, of course, the source of much of the Brady material of this paper.

¹⁷ Brady, Joseph, *A Journal*, I, under date of Friday, Apr. 10, 1846, Miami University Library.

¹⁸ It is interesting to note that the contemporary critical comments, both of Brady and of others cited in this study, on style tend to support the recently published thesis by Guthrie regarding the importance of *Belles Lettres* upon mid-nineteenth century thinking in matters of style. Note Brady's use of the term "elegantly" when speaking of the writing; cf. Guthrie, Warren, "The Development of Rhetorical Theory in America, 1635-1850," *SM*, XV (1948), 67-71.

perhaps ideological impact. These comprise a somewhat scanty critical standard, but they do indicate the existence of some concern.

Examining such background details as exist in connection with our second example of literary hall oratory, we discover more rewarding material.

Benjamin Harrison attended Miami University but two years;¹⁹ yet in that brief time he won an honor coveted among all his fellow-students.²⁰ He was selected to be one of the four Commencement speakers on the program of his own graduation exercise.²¹ The resultant speech, "England's Poor," is here presented as the second specimen of student oratory.²² While this speech was not delivered within the confines of a literary hall, it obviously is the product of that environment and training.

Apparently Harrison took advantage of every opportunity afforded by the campus to secure experience in platform speaking. He entered into Hall activities shortly after his appearance on the Miami scene. Harrison's name first appears in the *Minute Book* of the Miami-Union Society under date of October 17, 1850. This source indicates that he missed but two of the weekly sessions of the Society during the entire period he spent on the campus. It may be pertinent that these sessions were ones de-

¹⁹ His first two years were spent in Farmer's College, Cincinnati, Ohio. Harrison was born at North Bend, Ohio, (a few miles west of Cincinnati) August 20, 1833. He was but nineteen, therefore, when he delivered the speech presented by this study. See *Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives*, 210, part 9, 53rd Congress, 2nd Session, compiled by James D. Richardson, IX (Washington, D. C., 1898), p. 3.

²⁰ See statement by MacCracken, footnote No. 12.

²¹ A copy of the original program is in the Miami Library. Here a printer's error resulted in the misspelling of Harrison's last name, causing it to appear as "Benjamin Harris."

²² The original hand-written manuscript is in the Library of Congress. A photostatic copy is in the Miami Library. This study has been prepared from that copy.

voted to declamation and the reading of essays. At least there is no indication that the lad missed a debate during his two years of residence. He was elected to a minor office on December 13, 1850, and another on March 7, 1851. He was chosen President of the Society on August 29, 1851. Still another interesting sidelight, both on Harrison as a boy and upon the seriousness of the proceedings of such a group, is cast by the notations of the fines assessed against Harrison for creating "disorder" in the meetings. It would seem that he was fined repeatedly; but again it is revealing, perhaps, that all the fines were imposed during sessions concerned with debate. Apparently he was a model of behavior during declamation or essay reading. Could there be cause for presuming that Harrison was an aggressive debater?

His fellow students evidently considered Harrison superior in the activities of the platform. W. P. Fishback, of the law firm of Porter, Harrison, and Fishback, was one of these fellow students. In a letter written to Lew Wallace under date of July 13, 1888, Mr. Fishback said:

I saw General Harrison first in 1850, at Miami University. . . . In the Union Literary Society Ben was a star. I remember his faculty in extemporaneous speech amazed me, a faculty which he has improved wonderfully. In all my knowledge of him I never knew him to trip in a sentence. He seemed to see about two well-rounded sentences ahead of him all the time.²³

Lewis Williams Ross, Chancellor of the Law School of the State University of Iowa, was another colleague who commented on his classmate:

After two years of study at Farmer's College, a large delegation, including young Harrison and the writer, entered Miami University, located at Oxford, Ohio. We enrolled in the junior class, with at least half of the sophomore year

²³ Wallace, Lew, and Halstead, Marat, *Life and Public Services of Hon. Benjamin Harrison* (n.p., 1892), p. 173.

to make up. This implied that we were required to do two and a half years' work within the space of two years. . . . Garrison, in class standing and merit, ranked above the average . . . was an unpretentious but courageous student. He was respectable in languages and the sciences, and excelled in political economy and history. . . . Garrison had a good voice and a pure diction. He talked easily and fluently. His manner was indicative of much earnestness of character. He never seemed to regard life as a joke nor the opportunities for advancement as subjects for sport. During the four years that I was with him, he impressed me with the belief that he was ambitious. As a writer and speaker, he always did his best. By this I mean that he, as a rule, made special preparation, giving as much time as possible to the matter in hand. . . . When a student he had his likes and dislikes. He was not selfish, yet his love of self made him careful of his time and of his reserve powers. Had he been of the follicking habit of some of his college acquaintances, he would long since have passed over with them. The sober truth is, that in good sense and manly conduct he was as a student without just reproach.²⁴

This was the earnest young college senior who attempted, in 1852, to solve the problems of "England's Poor" from the Commencement platform of a small, mid-western, American college.

THE SPEECHES *Patriotism*

Joseph Brady, April 10, 1846

Patriotism—pure love of country—is one of the most ennobling sentiments of the human breast. It arises from no selfish motive—it looks to no selfish end. It halts not at the approach of danger, nor counts the cost of maintaining rights. It is just and holy and virtuous in its influences; its feelings and impulses unalloyed by baseness or guilt. It strikes its roots deepest in that breast which is deepest imbued with the other virtues. In its spirit it is never aggressive. It meets danger, oppression, tyranny, usurpation at the threshold; but

never exceeds its proper limits. It cherishes liberty, freedom, and independence; gives manly courage and heroic fortitude; and scorns deceit, affection and treachery. It is ever found joined with humanity, mercy, and benevolence. It honors virtue for its own dear sake. It has been said by one to be "like honesty, small credit to have it, but felony to have it not." It is innate in the human breast; springs up without planting; grows without culture; and never fails to attain its proper development. Injustice will not hinder its germination; oppression cannot check its growth; nor tyranny prevent its maturity. Its influence is not confined to the inhabitant of the mansion, or of the palace; but animates in like manner the breast of the hardy peasant; and glows with equal fervor in the bosom of the toil-worn industrious cottager. "Nature's nobleman" feels not less its mild and genial spirit, than the lordly possessor of wealth and luxury. It is a law universal in nature, from which, nor rank, nor station is exempted. The limits of a republic do not bound it, but it is enjoyed under all species of governments—monarchies, aristocracies, and republics. The subjects of despotic Russia feel it; the inhabitants of more liberal France feel it; the citizens of happy America feel it. In every latitude, too, under Heaven—whether in the scorched-up plains of the Torrid zone, or in polar regions where winter eternal reigns—in short, wherever man has found a shelter to protect him from the storms of Heaven, clothing to hide his nakedness, and food and drink to satiate his hunger and thirst.

The Laplander as he traverses his frozen plains and bleak mountains, covered with scarcely-melting snows, and views with delight the unrivalled splendor of the Northern Light, is wont to

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

speak of his cheerless home as the brightest and happiest.

The tawny, sun-burned inhabitant of equinoctial regions, enjoying voluptuous, effeminate ease, regards his country as the favored of Heaven—the garden of the world.

The noble son of the Emerald Isle felt this sentiment in its purest, holiest character, when he exclaimed in the honest simplicity of his heart, "Though I have not a rod of land belonging to me, but what I hire, yet I love my country, and would halve my last pratae²⁵ with every poor creature that has none."

The brave Switzer—the countryman of the renowned Tell—has more true affection, more pure love, and undying attachment for the peaks and crags of his "mountain home," than for aught else on earth besides.

The noble descendants of Wallace and Bruce can hardly be persuaded that any country excels in beauty and sublimity the Highlands of their own "bonny Scotland." To them every rock has its associations, every mountain-pass its hallowed recollections. And well they may; for in the language of one who was alive to her true glory, "From the 'bonny Highland heaths' of her lofty summits, to the modest lily of the vale, not a flower but has blushed with patriot blood. From the proud foaming crest of Solway, to the calm polished breast of Loch Katerine, not a river, not a lake, but has swelled with the life-tide of free-men."

The Indians of the American wilderness furnish some of its brightest exemplifications. With what patriotic valor do they defend their hunting-grounds from aggression; with what devoted zeal do they pursue to the death those who would desecrate their fathers' graves!

²⁵ Brady's writing is blurred on this word. I presume I have used the term intended.

With what noble patriotism do they sacrifice all—even life itself—in defence of their ancient homes and leave them only when the last gleam of hope has departed and forever!

Time cannot obliterate this passion nor distance destroy it. The exile, banished, too often, by the cruelty and injustice of his government, yet ever speaks of his native land with that true affection, which shows, more than anything else can, his fervent love and longing desire to be restored to its embraces. Hence banishment has ever been considered the most barbarous punishment which the ingenuity of man could inflict, than which, even death at home would be preferable. There seems to be an instinctive dread in the breast of every one against dying in a foreign land. This may often arise from a wish that his death-bed might be surrounded by friends to do the last sad offices of life for him, but it oft arises too from a longing desire to moulder back to dust in his native soil. How often has the heartfelt prayer gone up to Heaven from the brave sailor dying in the heaving billows, and from the stranger yielding up his breath on a foreign shore? "Spare me, O God, to reach my native land!" The Pilgrims, although they had left the "mother-country" under circumstances calculated to alienate their affections from it, if anything would, were yet long accustomed to speak of it as "home." Its injustice was forgotten, and they look back to it with reverence and affection, for around it hung all their early associations, all their fond recollections of dear domestic scenes. Here was the place where "Early youth they sported"; here their youthful ties and connections were formed, and, perhaps, matured; here still dwelt those bound to them by the ties of affection and kindred; and here beneath the green sward

rested in quiet slumber the dust of their forefathers.

Patriotism can never become extinct in our country. There are too many objects constantly meeting our view to kindle its fires into renewed activity. Traces of our Revolutionary struggle are so numerous, and its spirit so widely diffused, as to forbid such a result. The eloquent appeals of patriots of those days are still sounding in our ears. Our literary and political addresses abound with its spirit. Our anniversaries, so generally celebrated, still with every recurring year, animate and quicken its impulses, and fan to a brighter flame the patriotic glow.

But too-ready credence should not be given to the professions of all who cry out in terms of patriotic indignation against those, who, as they would have us believe, have done, or are about to do injustice to the State. Those who are loudest in favor of liberty, independence, and the public good are frequently their most dangerous enemies. To remove suspicion from themselves, they cry out "Wolf, wolf!" against others, and obtain public favor at the expense of the reputation of those much better than themselves. Envy, jealousy, and private animosity are found to influence them instead of patriotic zeal. Treachery is not unlikely to form a third link in a chain of which deception and falsehood are the first and second.

Partisanship has been sometimes thought inconsistent with true patriotism. As the patriot looks only to the best interests of his country, it is argued, where all are patriots parties cannot exist. Were it possible for mortals to look into the future and see the ultimate effect of every measure, this would, undoubtedly, be true. But as the future cannot be known to them, different patriots, each having the good of his

country at heart, may differ materially in their policies. With Thomson we may say: "Men may, I find, be honest, though they differ." Indeed where freedom of thought and opinions is tolerated parties will exist. They are inseparable from a free government,—and not only inseparable, but absolutely necessary, to act as a check upon government, to thwart the purposes of designing knaves, and to keep alive the spirit of liberty. Abuses imperceptibly grow up in a government—even when administered by good men—which need some watchful hand to lop them off. A party long in power becomes corrupt. There is much less probability of this if there be an opposite party to expose their abuses, and hold up to public gaze their corruptions. Parties give vigor and security in peace, whilst they diminish not the efficiency of troops in war. Patriotism seems to grow less fervent when danger is removed; yet, let but the public safety be threatened, and it is found strong as ever. Thus, though the highest degree of party animosity has existed in our country a few years previous, yet were never a people more universally infused with the spirit of true devotional patriotism, than were ours at the period of the last war with Great Britain. Great men are pre-eminently distinguished above their fellows only when great events conspire to draw forth their talents and energies. Although apparent hostility may have prevailed before, let but danger from abroad threaten the nation, and all are united as one man in her defense.

Patriotism promotes peace between nations for no patriot can fail to see that every war, in the destruction of the lives and property of the citizens, will do permanent injury to the State. To preserve an honorable peace he will

therefore sacrifice much. He feels with the poet, that:

In her days, every man shall eat in safety,
Under his own vine, what he plants; and sing
The merry song of peace to all his neighbors.

Peace, prosperity, and patriotism go hand in hand.

To love and defend our country is not less a duty than a pleasure, for it has protected us in infancy and childhood, secures to us the enjoyment of our property and physical safety; restrains the unprincipled and licentious; and adds new charms to home and its endearments. For these blessings—which may be said to constitute the glory of a country—our patriotic services are claimed.

One drop of blood drawn from thy country's bosom
Should grieve thee more than streams of foreign gore.

The obligations which we owe to our country are inferior alone to our religious obligations, and, indeed, patriotism and true piety are perfectly consistent. The inspired Psalmist exclaimed, when, being a captive in a foreign land, he was required to sing "one of the songs of Zion." "How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land." And again of Jerusalem his natal city, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." Our own beloved Washington and many—very many of the worthy heroes of the Revolution, combined the truest patriotism with the most fervent piety. Before engaging in the perilous fight it was their custom to invoke the blessings of Almighty God upon their efforts, and shielded by justice, how rarely did success desert them.

The true, rational, enlightened pa-

triot is not actuated alone by a love of the spot of earth on which he may chance to have been born. He would esteem such love too nearly allied to selfishness. No, his views take a broader scope. He is proud of the history of the rise and progressive advancement of his country and of the recollection of the great men who have adorned that history; his heart swells with emotions too deep for utterance at the recital of the glorious achievements of his ancestors; he defends with commendable zeal the justice and excellence of her laws; he is finely attached to her customs and manners; he boasts perhaps, of the literary and highly intellectual character of her citizens; and feels a sympathy for those who speak his "mother tongue," which can never be felt for those who use a "barbarous language." These, which may be said to constitute the glory of a country, are eminently adapted to inspire love, affection, gratitude and reverence for that country. When his country needs his services he hesitates not to sacrifice luxury and festivity; to give up without a murmur wealth and ease, to leave the storms of adversity, to exchange the delicacies and enjoyments of home for the rough fare and hardships of the "tented field"; and prefers poverty with all its ills, if freedom be joined with it, to the possession of the richest blessings of Heaven beside, if denied the enjoyment of liberty—that inestimable treasure, "without which," it hath been said, "man is a beast, and government a curse."

*England's Poor*²⁶
Benjamin Harrison
June 24, 1852

To determine the ultimate and natural structure of human society and the

²⁶ The spelling and punctuation are reproduced exactly as they appear in Harrison's manuscript.

true relations which should bind its members together—that the artificial and perilous in existing systems might be separated from the natural and good—that the inequalities and miseries which now attend it might be equalized and alleviated—and the blessings and comforts which it bestows impartially distributed—has been the grateful yet difficult task of the philanthropist in all stages of social development. Legislators have theorized and experimented—political economists have disjointed the frame work of existing systems—and vainly hoped to see a fair and faultless superstructure spring from these crumbling foundations as by the touch of a magic wand—moral philosophers have defined the rights of the individual and limited the powers of the community—and yet the problem is unsolved. Much of the obscurity which has beclouded the vision and the error which has impregnated the theories of social reformers has arisen from their extravagant and ill-defined views of the legitimate objects of society—thinking to find in its institutions a soothing balm for every ill to which humanity is heir—they have despised them as a poison because they did not prove a panacea. None but the Utopian dreamer thinks to purge society of all evil—an aggregation of imperfections cannot be perfect—nor is it proposed by any social institutions to relieve man from all the miseries to which his individual organism exposes him but rather to promote by associated effort the great objects of his being and secure to him that measure of happiness of which his nature is susceptible. Philosophers strangely mistaking the objects to be attained and still more strangely perverting their native powers—have argued from the constant presence of evil in all social and political institutions that these institutions themselves

must be the acting cause of all the miseries which are associated with them—and true to their original perversion they would rudely break the sympathetic bands which the creator has placed to unite and harmonize conflicting interests and resolve man into a state of selfish individualism—they would exchange the virtuous restraints of the domestic circle for the unbridled license of corrupting lusts and the wholesome regulations of law for the waywardness and caprice of individual wills—Others equally unwise and atheistical would urge the complaint more directly but no more fully upon the Great Framer of all things—they think to trace all the inequalities of the social system to defects in the original constitution of its members—would it not be more philosophical more reasonable to say the perversion of that constitution? They would raise the distorted deductions of a puerile philosophy to impeach the wisdom of the Almighty or expose the bitter fruits of human folly to disprove his goodness and beneficence—they disturb by human enactments the just balance of nature and refer its unsteady motions to the unskillful hand of its Architect—by a single stroke of legislation they palsie the arm of the labourer and as the lines of want are tracing on his countenance exalt in their convincing proof that nature has denied him strength of arm to satisfy the cravings of his mouth—by the ceaseless suction of public avarice they drain the fatness from the soil and moralize as the evils of an overpopulation develop themselves on “the defects of our original constitution”—The crazy brain of Malthus devised this impious theory and a venal aristocracy rejoiced in its much-needed consolations. But to present the condition of the English poor with the causes which have conspired to produce

it rather than to confute the flimsy theories of distempered economists is the object of the present oration—When we speak of England—merry old England—a thousand pleasurable associations flood our souls and bear us back long years into the past—the bold and manly peasant trends with conscious sovereignty her forest glades—“Sweet Auburn loveliest-village of the plain” Smiles upon us from every shady vale and lifts its modest spire from every rising knoll—all that is virtuous in social life and high and generous in individual finds here a partial development—

A time there was ere England's griefs began
When every rood of ground maintained its man:
For him light labour spread her wholesome store.

Just gave what life required but gave no more:
His best companions innocence and health
and his best riches ignorance of wealth.

For him no churlish poor laws spread their
scanty fare
His own strong arm secured abundance there—

Turn now and take a glance at modern England—the England of poor laws and paupers—how fairs it with the descendants of these noble sires? do they still preserve the lofty mien—the virtuous courage [marked out]²⁷ the healthful abundance of their ancestors? or can it be that the obsequious pauper the sturdy beggar is indeed come of so proud a parentage? have not the swelling tides engulfed this manly race to give place to eastern slaves? By what process of degeneration by what system of treachery—by what catalogue of wrongs has this sad change been effected? how has the individual been robbed of his energy—the social circle of its virtue and purity? the common answer is by poor laws—In the vastness of her commercial projects the expansive generosity of her foreign charity and the extended field of her missionary effort the starving destitu-

tion of eight millions of her own subjects are too much forgotten and overlooked. Reversing the old maxim she seemed to think that charity begins abroad and draws freely upon the public exchequer to relieve the miseries of the West India slave while thousands more miserable cry in vain for substantial relief from the filthy laws of her own metropolis—as the newspaper giver of the present day bestows liberally of his plenty to endow widows' homes and orphan asylums while his faithful housedog is starving in his kennel—so the oil and wine which the British Samaritan poured into the wounds and bruises of the West India Slave were the marrow and blood of his own children.

The origin of the British poor-laws is found in the short-sighted legislation by which it was proposed to check the reaction caused by the rupture of the Feudal tenures—a temporary jar which those laws and adaptations of nature so highly valued elsewhere would soon have remedied or removed was made the subject of special legislation and the evil to be eradicated thus fostered into fuller maturity. Happy would it have been for British prosperity if her legislators had conformed their laws to their legitimate uses—had contented themselves with removing obstacles rather than improving upon the wiser regulations of nature. Perhaps the whole annals of legislative history does not furnish us with a system of laws so fully repudiated by all sound economy or one which so rudely strikes at the foundation of all social prosperity as the poor-laws of Great Britain—unwise in their conception, unhappy in their consequences they are the shame and curse of England—disregarding the finer and fuller provisions of nature for the relief of the destitute and unfortunate they substitute instead the compulsory pro-

²⁷ Several words are marked out.

visions of a legalized benevolence. The charitable offering is snatched from the kind hand of the benevolent giver, cast into the swelling poor fund and distributed by the cold hand of the soulless official alike to the vicious and deserving—The donor is deprived of his meed of praise—the recipient is precluded the exercise of gratitude—But not only does such provision fail to relieve the wants of the poor—but by sapping the life's blood of individual energy and encouraging indolence and consequent vice—they increase the evil they were intended to alleviate and supersede the more efficacious relief of individual charity—the ever present consciousness that however great his improvidence and vice he cannot be brought to ultimate want removes that stimulus to industry and economy which has in the wise providence of God been provided to anticipate the evils of pauperism—The Shame which attaches itself to the trembling prayer for individual charities is lost in the pious demand upon the parish poor fund. But it is only when the true source of this fund is discovered that the system presents itself in all its grossness and deformity—The honest democrat of our own land fretted by the annual visit of the tax-gatherer is filled with virtuous indignation when he reads of his daily calls at the kitchen and counting-room of the London manufacturer but loses his indignation in utter incredulity when he reads further of the prosperity and even princely magnificence of this same oppressed subject of her Majesty—But a slight insight into the current history of the country soon solves the dilemma—his operatives are paupers and their poverty places them entirely within his power—thus as the public burdens become more onerous he reduces their wages—now little above the starving point—to meet the increas-

ed demands of so charitable a government. Can it be possible that this is indeed the true character of those laws which her wisest statesmen have not only sustained but made the subject of boastful reflection upon other lands? As well might the highway robber who having stripped the defenceless traveler of all that he possessed returns him a scanty covering from the cold boast of his kindness and call upon his shivering victim to acknowledge a debt of gratitude—as that government which absorbs by indirect taxes the honest wages of the labourer and doles out to him again a starving portion boast of its benevolence and chide the dissatisfied pauper for ingratitude—and surely the unfortunate victim of ruffian violence and the cherished subject of legal charity should be grateful—grateful not for any kindness done but for injury not done.

Ill fairs the land to hastening ills a prey
When wealth accumulates and men decay
Princes and Lords may flourish or may fade
A breath can make them and a breath has made
But a bold peasantry their country's pride
When once destroyed can never be supplied.

Such are the poor and such the poor laws of Great Britain—The wretched condition of the pagan world swells the bosom of the philanthropist and moves the sympathy of the Christian—the burning wrongs of the Negro consumes the entire compassion and exhausts the entire indignation of the feeling and humane—the civil injuries and sad prospective of the Indian reflect upon the justice of American legislation and excites the melancholy forbodings of all—but the goaless condition of the Pagan, the burning wrongs of the Negro and the civil injuries and sad prospective of the American Indian—all find embodiment in the person and position of the English pauper—As the gloom which rests upon the valley is made

deeper by the light which gilds the surrounding hill-tops, so the degradation and wretchedness of the pauper is portrayed in livelier colors by the elevated sentiment and growing prosperity of the higher orders of Society—the grandeur of her history—the independence of her constitution—the general wisdom of her laws—the heroic daring of her sons—all would lead us to predict for England a bright, a glorious future—but amid all this grandeur, independence and wisdom her poor laws and provincial policy stand as a reproach upon her character a stain upon her national escutcheon—and cast a deeper shade of darkness o'er what was dark before—her future—To us it is a question of momentous import whether when the angry tides of revolution shall again sweep over the Earth tearing from their foundations the artificial pillars of despotic bearing—England shall stand with our own happy land as nature's pillars deep-seated in the Earth—or herself shall crumble to a grand yet inglorious ruin—But how shall Britain fall? her bulwarks washed by the rocking waves of an element as much her own as the terra firma upon which her capital reposes bid proud defiance to the combined assaults of her hautiest foes. But Rome she fell not by the rude blows of a barbaric axe but by the ceaseless gnawing of insidious foes within—and thou to oh Britain—thou self-styled Empress of the sea—may fall as Rome fell—thou hast debauched and degraded thy children till they now appear as a moral gangrene, an unwashed sore upon the fair proportions of thy body-politic. Haste thee, then, ere this carroding influence extend to thy very vitals to purify with the quick knife of legislative surgery this festering wound—and thus it may be healed—

CRITIQUE

In reviewing these two student speeches, the critic finds much of interest. He cannot fail to recognize in Brady's work a typical example of the traditional *suasoria* or commonplace. Here is a specimen of that age-old type categorized as student declamation. Lacking any genuine message, any real urge to communicate, the speaker has attempted to make talk in order to fulfill an assignment. His subject is adequate for such a purpose but certainly cannot be called distinguished. Following the hoary pattern of the commonplace the speaker rings every possible change in the development of his theme. He attempts to define the nature and characteristics of patriotism, to point out where it is to be found, what it can endure, and what it can accomplish. However, Brady never frees himself from a sophomoric dependence upon abstract, generalizing concepts. Patriotism is spoken of as being "just," "holy," and "virtuous" in its influences. The critic dare not linger over these abstractions in a search for specific meanings, nor risk applying concrete examples and instances lest the vapidly of Brady's treatment become only too apparent. The serious critic is apt to wonder why so little of the local color, the environmental problems, the timely topics of the year 1846 in the United States creep into Brady's discussion of true patriotism. Where are the items of invention which would place this declamation apart as a vital treatment of a significant idea? With but minor changes, insofar as its ideas are concerned, this effusion could be made by practically any student in any era. Were one forced to judge on a basis of this example only, he would be inclined to conclude that student speeches in the literary halls were at least no more distinguished in

the realm of ideas than are those to be heard in some speech classes in college today. For Brady does not exemplify either keen or penetrating powers of invention.

Not only does this student evidence sterility of original thought, he also fails to show much appreciation for even minimal requirements of proof. Since we lack all basis for judgment other than that presented by internal evidence, it may be best to omit consideration of his use of ethical persuasion. However, we may legitimately raise a question regarding how Brady handled emotional and logical proof. Here, even cursory examination stimulates skepticism concerning his ability to cope with the latter. Note for example this passage: "Patriotism promotes peace between nations for no true patriot can fail to see that every war, in the destruction of the lives and property of the citizens, will do permanent injury to the State. To preserve an honorable peace he will therefore sacrifice much." Essentially this passage is a syllogistic argument which might be realigned into greater conformity to the classic pattern. Thus it could be presented with the major premise: ". . . no patriot can fail to see that every war, in the destruction of the lives and property of the citizens, will do permanent injury to the State." The minor premise would be: "To preserve an honorable peace he will therefore sacrifice much." And of course Brady's conclusion is therefore: "Patriotism promotes peace between nations." Presented in this classic form even the untrained individual might be apt to question the truth of his minor premise. Yet this passage is altogether too typical of the boy's usage in the area of logical proof.

Possibly Brady's greatest skill in the manipulation of logical proof lies in his

use of the principle of cumulation. When an assertion is supported, it is usually done through the use of a series of general illustrations. Witness the man's construction in supporting the assertion presented in the first sentence of the following passage:

The true, rational, enlightened patriot is not actuated alone by a love of the spot of earth on which he may chance to have been born. He would esteem such love too nearly allied to selfishness. No, his views take a broader scope. He is proud of the history of the rise and progressive advancement of his country and of the recollection of the great men who have adorned that history; his heart swells with emotions too deep for utterance at the recital of the glorious achievements of his ancestors; he defends with commendable zeal the justice and excellence of her laws; he is finely attached to her customs and manners; he boasts perhaps, of the literary and highly intellectual character of her citizens; and feels a sympathy for those who speak his "mother tongue," which can never be felt for those who use a "barbarous language."

Of course, this cumulative effect serves its purpose well, and represents skillful practice. This skill would have been even more effective had Brady seen fit to employ a more specific type of example.

In point of fact, this man shows greater capacity with emotional than with logical proof. He appeals to his hearers' pride, to their feelings of superiority as human animals over all other animal forms, to their sentiments and prejudices. Here we sense that the optimism of youth stands him in good stead; and we must credit him with a measure of skill in stimulating emotional approval. In this realm of invention lies his greatest ability.

Turning to Garrison's treatment of the problems of "England's Poor," one may find more cause to respect the student oratory of a century ago. Flamboyant as it frequently is, at least here in this speech may be found a certain

purposiveness on the part of the speaker. He seeks a response from his audience; and he drives with reasonable vigor in his effort to secure that response. One is led to conclude that a measure of study, of serious thought, has entered into the preparation of the talk. And here also may be found, in the form of internal evidence, a fair degree of consciousness on the part of the speaker of the status of his world. Not only does the speaker delve into the problem presented by his subject, he relates it to those of his own country. Harrison appears aware of the contemporary Negro and Indian problems of his day. Furthermore, this lad shows a measure of skill in utilizing this material to advance his argument. Note his development in the passage:

The wretched condition of the pagan world swells the bosom of the philanthropist and moves the sympathy of the Christian. The burning wrongs of the Negro consumes the entire compassion and exhausts the entire indignation of the feeling, and humane. The civil injuries and sad prospective of the Indian reflect upon the justice of American legislation, and excites the melancholy forbodings of all. But, the goalless condition of the Pagan, the burning wrongs of the Negro, and the civil injuries and sad prospective of the American Indian, all find embodiment in the person and position of the English pauper.

By associating known specimens of degradation, Harrison makes the condition of the English pauper to appear more serious than that of any one of the familiar instances. Only a person with some degree of rhetorical experience and skill might be expected to be acquainted with such a device. Yes, cause may be found to respect the thought processes, the powers of invention of this student of long ago.

Reviewing the arrangement of these two speeches, the critic might be warranted in preferring Harrison's technique to that of Brady's. It is not diffi-

cult to discover a plan in the development of "England's Poor." First there is the presentation of background material—a broad introduction—ending with that specific transition sentence: "But to present the condition of the English poor with the causes which have conspired to produce it, rather than to confute the flimsy theories of distempered economists is the object of the present oration." Having set this goal, Harrison proceeds to develop it with fair ingenuity. The speech develops; it progresses in the amplification of an idea. And it reaches a conclusion. While it is true that the speaker's final plea falls upon absent ears—a rhetorical weakness embraced by too many modern, classroom speakers—it at least has the virtue of being specific. Harrison's speech starts at a definite point and gets somewhere.

On the other hand, Brady's work appears to lack this sense of growth. Let us repeat, this student may be credited with a fertile ingenuity for devising every possible example, every illustration of the nature of patriotism. But the sum total of his effort spells boredom. This may be explained in part, perhaps, by weaknesses in his plan of development. For Brady allows his speech to proceed without unfolding sufficiently different facets of his theme. Almost from the opening sentence on to the introduction of his concept of the role of partisanship in patriotism, he makes little attempt to re-stimulate the attention of his hearers by changing his point of view. Even when he considers partisanship the thought is not profound. Indeed, he fails to avail himself of this opportunity to develop his basic idea. Typical of so many students' efforts, this speech merely starts, flows, then stops. One is reminded of a comment passed by a colleague upon the

work of a more modern student: "He has an infinite ability to say nothing, beautifully."

However, an analysis of the rhetorical style of these two lads furnishes a basis for a degree of genuine admiration. Apparently, thorough training in the language and literature of the classics left its mark on their style. The traditional three-part construction, the use of balanced sentences, the dependence upon parallel construction gave some majesty to even schoolboy prose. Witness such typical sentences as: "By what process of degeneration, by what system of treachery, by what catalogue of wrongs has this sad change been effected?" In a second example, we find: "Injustice will not hinder its germination; oppression cannot check its growth; nor tyranny prevent its maturity." Once more, let us notice: "Do they still preserve the lofty mien, the virtuous courage, the healthful abundance of their ancestors?" Here is a construction fast disappearing in modern, con-

versational speaking. Perhaps some of the loss is our own.

Not only is there sweep in the sentence structure as a whole, there is evidence of awareness for the nuances of sound in the word choice. Note the alliterative juxtaposition in the construction: ". . . they have despised them as a poison because they did not prove a panacea." Or listen to the tonal changes embodied in the phrase: "By the ceaseless suction of public avarice they drain the fatness from the soil. . . . Perhaps the sophisticate will criticize the students' bent for purple prose. But one must acknowledge that these lads saw in language something beyond the basic limitations of social communication. Apparently they were little content with the prosaic, humdrum, oral construction of the streets. They were willing to try to develop in themselves a more facile use of their mother tongue. Would that more modern students were so concerned.

AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF THE RELATIVE IDENTIFICATION THRESHOLDS OF NINE AMERICAN VOWELS

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University of Illinois

INTRODUCTION

THIS is the report of an experimental study in which trained phoneticians were asked to transcribe nine American vowels presented at intensities varying over a wide range. The intensity of the stimulus (the vowels of the study) was reduced until a threshold of correct identification for each vowel was established. The results indicated that statistically significant differences in the intensity necessary to produce identification thresholds occur among the vowels tested. From this result, the conclusion would seem to follow that some factor in addition to intensity is contributing to the identification of some of the vowels of this study. Fourteen sounds were examined under conditions of reduced intensity; these included nine vowels, two semivowels and three nasal consonants. Only the experimental results for the vowels are presented here.

EQUIPMENT

The stimuli used in this study were recorded on a Presto Model 8N disc recorder from the vocalizations of a single speaker, an adult male, trained phonetician, General American dialect. The stimulus vowels were nine in number, presented in the familiar [t]-[p] environment which has been previously used in similar experimental studies. The nine vowels were: [i], [ɪ], [ɛ], [æ], [ʌ], [ɑ], [ɔ], [ʊ] and [ʊ]; no [o] or [e] vowels were used. The two semivowels [r] and [l] and the three nasals, [m], [n] and [ŋ] were presented in an [a]-[a] environment. The record chosen

for study was dubbed onto magnetic tape. The stimulus vowels and consonants were randomized in 14 orders, and the 14 new random orders on magnetic tape were now re-recorded. The experimental stimulus as used in this study, therefore, consisted of 14 random-order presentations of the nine vowels of the study (as well as five consonants with which results we are not here concerned).

The response to the stimulus which we have just described was given by 16 listeners, all of whom were trained phoneticians, senior undergraduate and graduate students who had had two courses in phonetics and whose phonetic capabilities were judged by the instructional staff as satisfactory for purposes of this study. These listeners were equipped with high impedance headphones, carefully matched to the output of a custom-built sound reproducing system usually used for hearing aid selection. The sound system was calibrated in one db intensity intervals.

METHOD

The record as made by the stimulus speaker was checked to ascertain that the vowels produced and recorded actually were faithful representations of the vowel intended. That the stimulus vowels actually were good representations is indicated by clear-cut evidence in the experimental data where at the higher intensity levels the stimulus vowels were correctly identified 100% of the time.

In the presentation of the random vowel orders some preliminary experimentation was necessary in order to determine approximately the lowest intensity level at which any of the vowels could still be correctly identified. Using this preliminary approximation, the stimuli were now presented to each of the 16 listeners, beginning at an intensity level approximately 14 decibels above the identification threshold of the sound with the least intense identification threshold. Using the 14 random orders, the records were played back for each of the 16 listeners at levels of intensity decreased successively by one decibel steps. The listener was invited to identify the stimulus by transcribing the sounds which he heard. The sounds were reduced over a total range of 18 decibels. At the playback level of lowest intensity, no listener was able to identify any of the sounds presented. The determination of a threshold of correct identification, from the transcriptions of the listeners, was found to be quite easy. Perhaps because the stimulus intensity presentations varied in one decibel steps, the point between continuously correct and continuously noncorrect identification was very sharp in the experimental data in the case of each individual and for each vowel.

RESULTS

1. *Range of relative intensities of the recorded vowel stimuli.* The intensity of each stimulus vowel was measured from the original recording by the graphic level recorder, HPL-E, 50 decibel potentiometer, as manufactured by the Sound Apparatus Company, New York City. The measured relative intensity of the stimuli on the original record was indistinguishably different from the relative intensity of the stimuli of the re-recorded orders. The range of stimulus intensities used in this study is presented in Column A of Table I. It will be noted that the strongest stimulus vowel was the [æ] with an intensity 3.9 db greater than the weakest stimulus vowel, [i]. In Column B are presented the intensities of the vowels as used in the study of Fairbanks, House and Stevens.¹ In Column C are contained the intensities as used in the study of Black.² Column D contains the intensities used in the study of Sacia and Beck.³ It was

¹ Fairbanks, G. F., House, A. S. and Stevens, E. L., "An Experimental Study of Vowel Intensities." In press. *J. of Acoustical Society of America*, XXII (1950).

² Black, J. W., "Natural Frequency, Duration and Intensity of Vowels in Reading. *J. of Speech and Hearing Dis.*, XIV (1949), 216-221.

³ Sacia, C. F. and Beck, C. J., "The Power of Fundamental Speech Sounds," *Bell System Technical Journal*, V (1926), 393-403.

TABLE I
RANGE OF RELATIVE INTENSITIES OF VOWELS [in db].

	Column A Present Study	Column B Fairbanks, House, Stevens	Column C Black	Column D Sacia, Beck
æ	3.90	4.52	3.44	2.58
ɔ	2.90	3.82	3.22	2.35
ɛ	1.80	2.15	3.12	1.74
ʌ	1.50	1.10	2.21	2.00
u	1.45	1.85	2.56	0.54
ɑ	1.40	3.66	3.69	3.21
ʊ	1.30	0.30	2.52	3.09
i	0.50	0.97	0.00	0.89
ɪ	0.00	0.00	2.86	0.00

an experimental conclusion of Fairbanks, House, and Stevens that the intensity of each vowel would vary according to the particular phonetic environment in which the vowel was presented. The relative intensity of vowels given by Fairbanks, House, and Stevens is the mean of a number of such phonetic environments and might, therefore, be regarded as a more representative vowel intensity than the intensity occurring in any one phonetic environment, such as has been used in the present study.

attenuation and are uncorrected for differences in intensity among the original stimuli. It will be observed from this table that the sound [i] required a relative intensity 4.1 decibels greater than the vowel [ɔ], in order to be consistently identified correctly at the identification threshold level. In other words, the [ɔ] could be attenuated 4.1 db more than the [i] and still be correctly identified. An analysis of variance for this range of attenuation figures indicates that the 'F' exceeds the table value for

TABLE II
RELATIVE INTENSITY-IDENTIFICATION RELATIONSHIPS.

	Column A Relative Intensity of Original Stimulus	Column B Mean Relative Attenuation Necessary to Produce Threshold of Correct Identification	Column C Mean Identifi- cation Threshold [Intensity Constant]
æ	3.90	1.000	2.75
i	0.50	4.062	2.41
u	1.45	2.750	2.05
ɛ	1.80	1.810	1.46
ɔ	1.30	2.250	1.40
ɑ	2.90	0.000	0.75
ɔ̄	1.40	1.125	0.37
ʌ	1.50	0.750	0.10
ɪ	0.00	2.125	0.00

In order to determine the relationship between more characteristic values as observed by Fairbanks, House, and Stevens and the particular intensities used in this study, a Pearson *r* was computed; the determined correlation coefficient was .839. This indicates that the stimulus intensities used in this study bear a high correlation to a characteristic relative intensity as provided by the data of Fairbanks, House, and Stevens.

2. Relative Attenuation Necessary to Produce Threshold of Correct Identification. The mean amounts of relative attenuation necessary to produce the threshold of correct identification are presented in Column B of Table II; these figures represent the amount of

significance at the 0.1% level. Table III indicates the results of this analysis. A computation of 't' to determine the reliability of differences among means for the individual vowels, shows that 20 vowel comparisons (out of a total of 36) reach significance at the 5% level; 15 of these 20 comparisons reach significance at the 1% level.

TABLE III
AN ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE IN THE INTENSITIES OF
VOWELS AT THE THRESHOLD OF IDENTIFICATION
(UNCORRECTED FOR DIFFERENCES IN ORIGINAL
STIMULUS INTENSITIES).

	df	Sums of Squares	Variance	'F'*
Vowels	8	188.1	23.51	9.96
Observers	15	60.2	4.01	
Remainder	120	283.7	2.36	

*F: Vowels/Remainder
F, 8 & 120: 0.1%, 3.55; 1%, 2.66; 5%, 2.02

3. *Relative Identification Threshold, Intensity Constant.* If intensity were the only factor in vowel identification, then the attenuation values of Section 2 should be equal to the relative intensity values of Section 1. But in Table II we have seen that these two sets of figures are not equal. It should be remembered that the original stimulus intensity showed a range of 3.9 db between the least and the most intense sounds in the vowel order. The attenuation figures which we have just considered in Section 2 show a range of 4.1 db. If these attenuation figures are corrected for differences in the original vowel intensities we find a relative identification threshold, intensity constant, with the values as presented in Column C, Table II. It will be noted in such an arrangement of vowels that the values are not zero but rather that the range covered is 2.8 db from the vowel [æ] relative to the sound [i], which in this comparison requires the least intensity in order to be consistently identified correctly. The two orders of intensity (relative stimulus intensity and identification threshold, intensity constant) show a correlation of .436 as indicated by a Pearson r . If the values of Column C had been zero or nearly so, then a curve as Figure 1 would be virtually flat. Such a flat curve would have shown that the important factor in vowel identification

is sheer relative intensity. However, it was seen from the values of Column C and from Figure 1 that there is a range of 2.8 db in these values at the identification threshold. It would appear that the differences noted in this consideration would give a clue as to the amount of nonintensity identification factor associated with each vowel. These figures represent the amount of intensity necessary to compensate for nonintensity identification factor of each vowel.

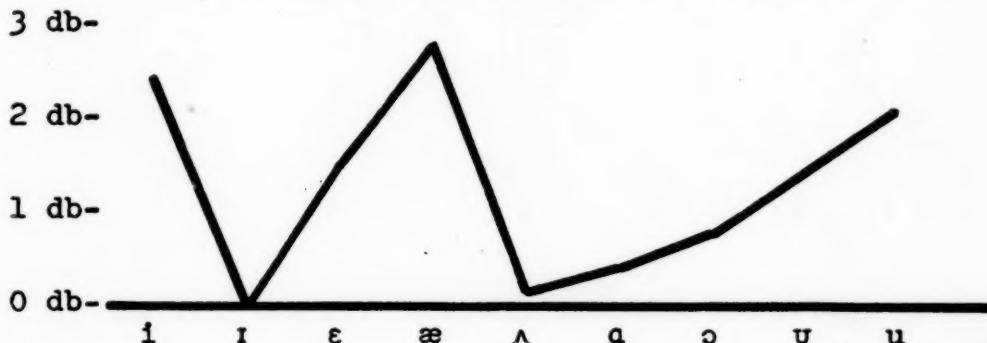
TABLE IV
AN ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE IN THE INTENSITIES OF
VOWELS AT THE THRESHOLD OF IDENTIFICATION
(CORRECTED FOR DIFFERENCES IN ORIGINAL
STIMULUS INTENSITIES).

	df	Sums of Squares	Variance	'F'*
Vowels	8	132.36	16.54	5.81
Observers	15	60.19	4.01	
Remainder	120	341.64	2.85	

*F: Vowels/Remainder
F, 8 & 120: 0.1%, 3.55; 1%, 2.66; 5%, 2.02

An analysis of variance for this range of intensities indicates that the 'F' exceeds the table value for significance at the 0.1% level. Table IV indicates the results of this analysis. A computation of the 't' statistic to determine the reliability of differences among means for the individual vowels shows that of a total of 36 comparisons, 18 reach significance at the 5% level; 11 of these 18 comparisons also reach significance at the 1% level. Specifically these vowel

FIGURE 1. RELATIVE IDENTIFICATION THRESHOLD [INTENSITY CONSTANT]



comparisons significant at the 1% level are: æ with a, ɔ, ʌ and ɪ; i with a, ɔ, ʌ and ɪ; and u with a, ʌ and ɪ.

A comparison of descending rank order of the values in Table II, Column C, shows that the extremes differ; neither adjacent nor alternate sounds differ; significant differences begin to appear when the difference in rank is three. These differences do not provide any regular pattern which is apparent to the author. This suggests that harmonic structure is not the only factor in vowel identification since it is difficult to ascribe the differences found in this study to vowel formant only.

Another inference from these data is that in tests of speech reception, for any purpose, some of the vowels differ significantly from some other vowels in respects other than sheer intensity. The equation of words on the basis of sheer vowel intensity alone would give spurious identification. This suggests that

great thought should be given the procedure of determining so-called speech discrimination on the basis of vowel intensity only.

SUMMARY

Sixteen trained phoneticians listened to random order presentations of 14 selected speech sounds. The nine vowel stimuli, with which we are here concerned, had a range of 3.9 db. As the stimulus intensity was attenuated by one db steps, transcriptions of the stimulus were made by these trained observers. With intensity constant, the vowels in this study do not have equivalent thresholds of correct identification. This suggests that some factor, unique to each vowel, in addition to intensity makes the identification of each vowel possible. Because of the increasing use of tests of speech reception in which vowels of equal intensity are used, the implications of this study should certainly be explored further.

SOME EFFECTS UPON VOICE OF HEARING TONES OF VARYING INTENSITY AND FREQUENCY WHILE READING*

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THE acoustical environment of a speaker somewhat determines his manner of talking. The causal factors may precede or accompany the moment of speech. For example, the rate, intensity, degree of articulation, and the direction of the final inflection of heard phrases have been found to influence the corresponding attributes of voices that repeat the phrases. In these instances the stimulus and response were at successive, not simultaneous, moments. Again, the reverberation times of the rooms in which phrases are read aloud have been found to influence the rate and intensity of the reading. In this case the stimulus of the side tone at the moment of reading apparently influenced the voice of the speaker.

The present study was to find in what manner the reading voice was influenced in pitch (frequency of the fundamental) and over-all intensity by the speaker's hearing pure tones as he read. The investigation developed in connection with the problem, Is the pitch of a speaker's voice determined in part by the pitch of the 'other person' in a conversation?

Five frequencies were used for stimulus tones. These were within the limits of the fundamental of the human voice and separated equally (five semitones): 90, 121, 161, 216, and 287 c.p.s. Nine recordings (magnetic tape) were made of the tones in each of two series

of stimuli. In both series successive groups of 15 tones contained three recordings of each tone with the order randomized among the 15. In Series I the tones, five seconds each, were recorded at such intensity levels that the frequencies could be played back through earphones at 55, 75, and 98 db intensity (reference, .0002 dynes per square centimeter). The same stimuli were recorded in Series II with intensities that permitted the playback levels to correspond with three Fletcher-Munson equal-loudness contours, 40, 65, and 90, respectively.

These values were chosen in view of (1) the range of the frequency of the vocal fundamental in a preliminary study in which 30 subjects (Ss) read the same word, *number*, (2) the dynamic range of the recording-reproducing equipment, and (3) the desirability for equating as nearly as possible the upper and lower limits of the equal-loudness and equal-intensity contours.

Eighteen male Ss heard the tones through earphones. S read from a pack of 3"x5" cards. Each card contained a nonsense syllable including the single vowel [ʌ]. E sat with S in a sound-treated room and monitored the stimuli. At the end of four seconds of exposure to a tone E raised his hand, a signal for S to read the syllable from the top card. After reading a syllable S put the card on the bottom of the pack and prepared to read the next item. The pack contained more syllables than S read, and was shuffled after each S's performance.

*Work conducted at The School of Aviation Medicine, N. A. S., Pensacola, Florida, under a contract between the Office of Naval Research and The Ohio State University Research Foundation.

With the help of a headrest S maintained a constant position while reading. He faced two microphones that were 10" from his lips. One microphone led to a power level recorder (Sound Apparatus Co.) and the other to a disc recorder. The former yielded relative measures of the intensity of reading; the latter provided recordings that were copied to magnetic tape and, in turn, were measured for the frequency of the fundamental of each S's voice during reading.¹

The primary steps in the treatment of the data were four analyses of variance: (1) vocal intensity of the responses to tones of differing frequency and three levels of intensity, (2) vocal intensity of the responses to tones of differing frequency and three levels of loudness, and (3) the frequency of the fundamental in the responses to each of these conditions. In each instance the basic measure was the mean value of the three responses to identical stimuli.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analyses of variance are summarized in Table I. Columns *a* and *c* represent the analyses for frequency and intensity respectively for syllables that were spoken in the presence of tones of the three levels of intensity; columns *b* and *d*, three levels of loudness. The

¹ The tape was dipped in iron filings, and the number of sound waves (striations) per unit of tape was counted. This was facilitated by re-recording on the tape at a high level through a bandpass filter.

composite error is shown because no interaction differed significantly from the others in an analysis and significance was not affected by pooling the four interactions.

The data indicate that significant changes in both vocal intensity and frequency accompanied gross increments in the intensity of the stimulus tones, whether successive levels were equal in loudness or not. Significant changes in both intensity and frequency also accompanied stimuli of differing frequency and like intensity. No significant differences accompanied stimuli of like loudness levels. These analyses indicate that (1) the frequency alone of an environmental sound is not picked up or imitated by a reader, at least within limits of one-word responses, (2) the loudness, not the intensity of the stimulus tone, affects the response of a listener-talker, and (3) a change in the intensity of the response is accompanied by a change in the frequency of the fundamental of the response.

The extents of the changes in the intensity and frequency of the responses corresponding with the levels of stimuli are indicated in Table II, an enumeration of the values that describe the responses to the equal-loudness levels. In these instances there were no significant differences attributable to the frequency of the stimulus tone. The values in the successive columns suggest that the increments in the frequency and intensity of the responses were not linearly re-

TABLE I
SUMMARY OF FOUR ANALYSES OF VARIANCE: (a) frequency of the fundamental when S responded to tones of five frequencies and three intensities; (b) same, five frequencies and three loudness levels; (c) vocal intensity as in *a*; (d) vocal intensity as in *b*.

Source of Variation	d.f.	a	b	Mean Square	c	d
Level	2	425.20**	309.97**	913.81**	903.43**	
Frequency	4	11.09**	.19	13.68**		1.84
Subjects	17	426.86	391.27	150.06		162.83
Composite error	246	3.03	3.40	3.95		3.42

**Significant (F) at the 1% level of confidence.

TABLE II
MEAN INTENSITY AND FREQUENCY OF ORAL READING WHILE HEARING FIVE FREQUENCIES AT EACH OF THREE LOUDNESS LEVELS.

Frequency of Stimulus	Loudness Levels		
	40	65	90
	Relative Intensity of Response (db)		
90	27.9	29.5	34.0
121	28.0	29.5	34.0
161	27.4	29.2	34.1
216	28.2	28.4	33.5
287	27.7	29.0	34.1
Mean	27.8	29.1	33.9
	Frequency of response (c.p.s.)		
90	139.8	142.6	151.6
121	139.8	141.9	151.6
161	139.8	142.6	150.2
216	139.8	142.6	151.6
287	139.8	141.2	151.6
Mean	139.8	142.2	151.3

lated to the loudness levels of the stimuli.

The results cited above satisfied the purposes of the study. The data were further analyzed as a preliminary approach to determining a more exact relationship between the loudness level of the stimulus and the intensity of the spoken response. Over all, the stimuli in the two series represented 15 loudness levels. Both the frequency and the intensity of the responses were plotted in relationship to loudness level. With respect to the over-all plots: neither curve was linear; the slopes of the curves were not the same; the curves were not simple exponential ones. This prompted viewing the plots in segments. The results are indicated in Figure 1. Both plots were linear through loudness level 65 (frequency, $Y=.07 X + 138.1$; intensity, $Y=.03 X + 27.3$). Beyond this level the rates of growth of the curves increased. Figure 1 shows the lines of best fit for 11 measurements between loudness levels 10 and 65, and shows four points of measurements near loudness level 90.

With respect to intensity the results were similar to ones in which words of varying intensity have been used as stimulus materials except that in the pres-

ent instance no compensatory effect was found in responding to stimuli of very low intensity.

SUMMARY

The data for this study gave no indication that vocal pitch (frequency of the fundamental) was affected by the frequency of a stimulus tone that sounded in a speaker's ear during reading. Clearly, however, both the intensity and pitch of voice were affected by the level of the tone that was heard. These effects, however, appeared not to be a function of the intensity of the tone but rather of its loudness. Moreover, they were differential. As the tones were increased from loudness level 10 to 65 through 11 points of measurement vocal intensity and frequency increased linearly. Responses to tones of higher loudness levels were not in keeping with these patterns. Both vocal pitch and intensity increased with greater rate per unit change of the loudness level of the stimulus tone at higher levels, and the acceleration rate was greater for vocal intensity than for frequency.

The possibility is suggested that in the production of vocal intensity there is more 'control' in the lower portion of the continuum from soft to loud than in the upper part of this range.

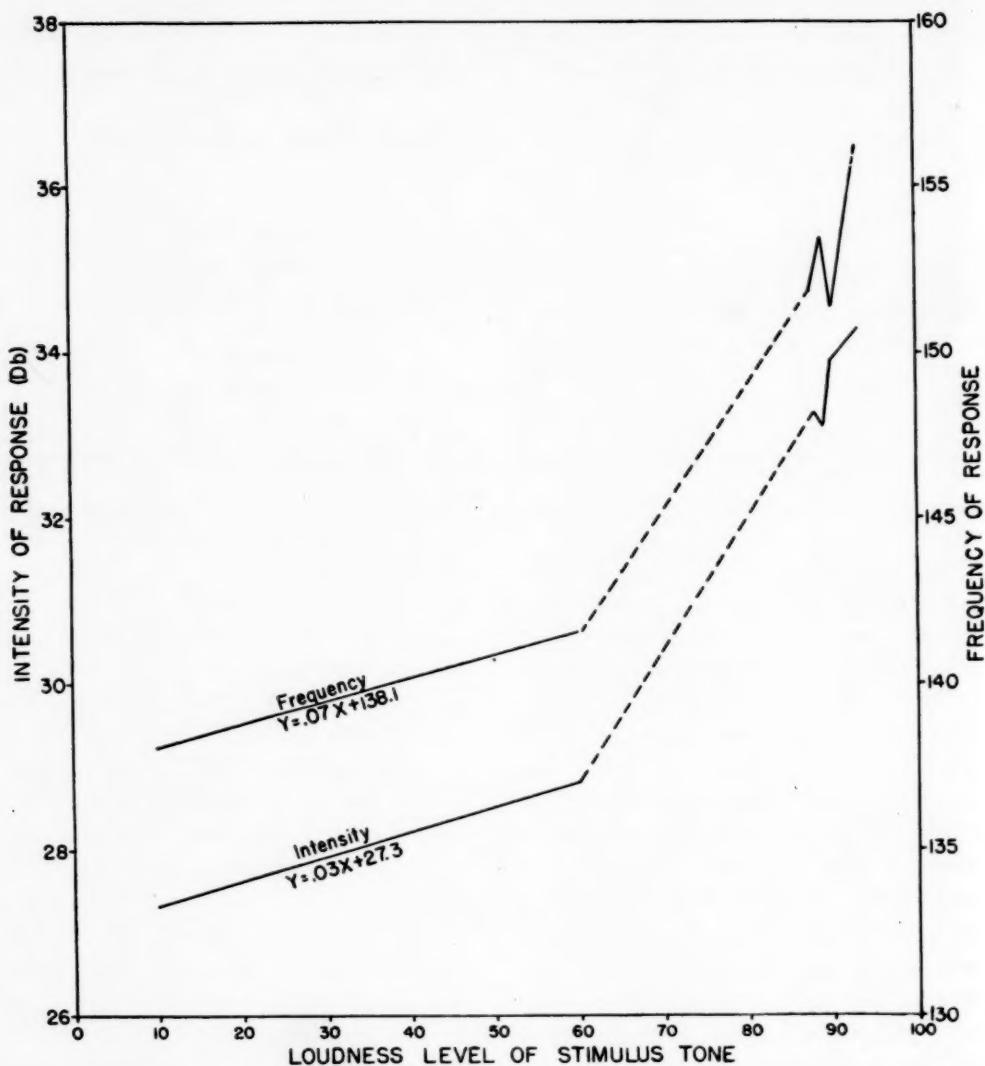


FIG. 1

The mean intensity and mean frequency (frequency of the fundamental) of 24 voices while reading monosyllables that were spoken as the speakers heard a series of pure tones. The five tones (90-287 c.p.s.) represented 15 loudnesses. The lines from loudness level 10 to 65 are fitted (least squares) to the mean responses (linearly related) at 11 points of measurement. The four measurements around loudness level 90 are plotted and connected by straight lines.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE SPEECH OF BLIND AND SIGHTED CHILDREN*

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I. THE PROBLEM

THE purpose of this study is to compare speech performance of blind and sighted children. A number of observations have been made in the literature concerning possible differences. These observations and their sources may be summarized as follows:

1. The blind show less vocal variety.¹
2. Lack of modulation is more typical among the blind.²
3. The blind tend to talk louder than the sighted.³
4. The blind speak at a slower rate.⁴
5. Less effective use of gesture and bodily action is typical of the blind.⁵
6. The blind use less lip movement in articulation of sounds.⁶

The conclusion that the blind show less general effectiveness in the use of the voice may be drawn from the statements made by the writers cited above, (who are primarily concerned with more

*These data are summarized from a doctoral dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Minnesota, June 1949. Professor Howard Gilkinson directed the research. Professor John E. Anderson of the Institute of Child Welfare served as consultant in designing the study.

¹ Berry, M. F., and Eisenson, J., *The Defects in Speech* (New York, 1942), p. 348.

² *Loc. cit.*

³ Cutsforth, T. D., *The Blind in School and Society* (New York, 1933), p. 115.

⁴ Passivity and lack of incentive in speaking are discussed by Stinchfield, S. M., *Psychology of Speech* (Boston, 1928), p. 64.

⁵ Cutsforth, *op. cit.*; Stinchfield, *op. cit.* Stinchfield is concerned with the restricted gestures of the blind and Cutsforth with blind mannerisms, often called blindisms.

⁶ Elliott, R., "Spoken English at the Oklahoma School for the Blind," *Teachers' Forum (Blind)*, XI (1938), 1-8.

specific differences), and from interviews with teachers of the blind as well.

There has been no controlled research to test these empirical judgments; hence comparisons of voice and bodily action factors in the speech of blind and sighted groups are desirable.

From a comparison of the speech performance of children with normal visual acuity and those with severe visual handicaps should come the answer to the question, "Do voice and bodily action require special attention in speech training programs for the visually handicapped?" The recent development of programs of speech education in blind institutions makes this question of particular importance.

Although the Bureau of the Census defines as blind "any individual who cannot see well enough to read a book or printed matter, even with the aid of glasses," a more specific definition is needed, since this general definition is neither adequate to determine admission into schools for the visually handicapped nor to give a clear enough line of distinction between blind and sighted for purposes of this research.

In this study, the term *blind* is taken to mean legally blind, i.e., with corrected vision not exceeding 20/200 in the better eye. This degree of visual acuity is commonly used to determine total blindness in granting financial aid to the visually handicapped.

II. PROCEDURE

Eighty-four congenitally blind children ranging in age from 12 to 18 who were pupils at two blind schools were

matched with control subjects from the Faribault (Minnesota) High School. Thirty-five of the experimental subjects, seventeen boys and eighteen girls, were students at the Minnesota Braille and Sightsaving School at Faribault and forty-nine of the experimental subjects, twenty-four boys and twenty-five girls, were students at the Wisconsin School for the Visually Handicapped at Janesville.

The subjects were matched individually on the basis of age, sex, socio-economic status according to the Minnesota Occupational Scale, and rural or urban residence. The lack of visual acuity of the experimental group made the comparison of intelligence test scores of the blind and the sighted inaccurate; hence the groups were not matched on intelligence. Matching on socio-economic status does, however, control intelligence to a degree.⁷ None of the subjects had training in speech courses but all had had oral composition units in English courses.

The occupational data for the 84 matched pairs are shown in Table I.

Each subject was given a brief story, designed to be told to children, ten days in advance of the testing. He was advised to practice it by himself so that he would be sure to tell it in his own way. Standard directions were to mem-

⁷ For a summary of the research on the relationship between intelligence and socio-economic status, cf. Jones, H. E. "Environmental Influence on Mental Development," in Carmichael, L., (ed.) *Manual of Child Psychology* (New York, 1946), pp. 594-596.

orize the story and to tell it to a small group, making the characters as clear as possible. The selection was available in regular mimeographed form, in braille, and in large sight-saving mimeographed print to meet varying needs of the subjects.

The speech performances were recorded on high-fidelity discs with volume, tone control, and microphone distance held constant. The same portion of each performance was filmed on 8mm. silent movie film. All subjects wore dark glasses so that the films did not provide an immediate cue to blindness or sightedness because of obvious eye conditions of the blind subjects. The performances were presented to the judges in random order.

Bell Adjustment Inventory results were used as a measure of personality factors. The test items had been recorded and played to the subjects in advance of the testing. The recorded method was used so that it was possible to administer the test to both the experimental and control groups under comparable conditions.

Ten university teachers of speech acted as judges and rated the subjects on a five-point scale, a rating of 5 indicating excellent and a rating of 1 indicating poor.

The judges received two sets of directions, one for the recordings and the other for the films.

Directions which preceded the playing of the recordings were:

"You will hear a group of recordings of a

TABLE I
COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE

Occup. Group.	Profess.	Clerical and Skilled	Farmers	Semi-Skilled	Slight Skilled	Day Labor
Boys	1	5	11	4	15	5
Girls	0	4	20	6	9	4
Total	1	9	31	10	24	9
% of Sample	1.19	10.71	36.91	11.91	28.57	10.71

children's story. Some have been made by blind children and some by sighted children. They will be played in random order. Rate each of the records on the factors indicated on the enclosed rating sheets. [The factors included general effectiveness, vocal variety, pitch modulation, use of loudness, and memory.] For the rating of *memory* evaluate the extent to which the speaker followed the text of the story. If you consider a speech sample louder or softer than average, place check in the blank provided. From the summary of differences which are attributed to the speech of the blind and with which you are familiar, make a judgment to indicate whether you consider the voice to be that of a blind or sighted person. If you find it impossible to tell, a space is provided for that response. Indicate any defective sounds or other speech difficulties at the bottom of the rating sheet."

Directions for the movie samples were:

"You will see a group of silent films showing the speakers whom you rated on the telling of the children's story. Rate them on general bodily action and degree of lip movement following the same procedure as you did on the voice rating sheets."

The reliability of the ratings of the judges ranged from +.86 on bodily action to +.95 on memory. These coefficients compare favorably with other studies evaluating speech performance.

Data for the thirty-eight members of the experimental group who had vision below light perception level and for the forty-six members of the experimental group with vision above that level were analyzed separately to study differences in performance between the blind subjects with a very limited vision and those capable of no vision whatsoever.

The data were also considered in terms of sex differences and in terms of differences in performance of the two institutional samples which made up the experimental group.

General effectiveness ratings in speech were correlated with scores on the Bell Adjustment Inventory to determine possible relationships between speech performance and personality factors.

III. RESULTS

The ratings on speech performance of the 84 matched pairs as summarized in Table II indicate the following results:

1. There were no significant differences between the blind and sighted samples in general vocal effectiveness or in vocal variety.
2. The blind group was judged superior in pitch modulation, the difference showing significance at the 2% level.
3. The blind group showed a higher mean rating in use of loudness, but the difference was not significant.
4. Ratings of bodily action favored the sighted group, the difference indicating significance at the 1% level.
5. Degree of lip movement ratings favored the sighted group with the difference showing significance at the 2% level.

Other findings were:

1. Although differences in *use of loudness* were not significant, from a total of 840 judgments for each group, the judges considered the voices of the blind louder than average in 124 judgments and softer than average in 120. For the sighted, there were only 81 such designations of loudness and 57 of softness. Using the designations of the control group as the expected frequency,

TABLE II
MEAN RATINGS OF BLIND AND SIGHTED SUBJECTS ON SIX SPEECH CHARACTERISTICS

Factor	N	Mean			
		Blind Subjects	Sighted Subjects	t	r 10 judges
General Effectiveness	84	2.39	2.30	.85	.92
Vocal Variety	84	2.56	2.35	1.82	.89
Pitch Modulation	84	2.52	2.27	2.50	.87
Use of Loudness	84	2.50	2.37	1.43	.90
Bodily Action	72	1.96	2.24	2.83	.86
Lip Movement	72	2.59	2.83	2.40	.89

- the χ^2 test reveals that the difference is significant above the 1% level.
2. Rate of speaking, which was determined by counting the words uttered per minute, showed a blind mean of 154 words and a sighted mean of 206 words. The difference was significant above the 1% level.
 3. On the basis of vocal cues alone, the judges could not differentiate blind and sighted subjects with success greater than chance. Conclusions concerning the blind subjects were: Blind 43.82%; Sighted 32.26%; Cannot Tell 23.92%. Conclusions concerning the sighted subjects: Blind 43.86%; Sighted 35.71%; Cannot Tell 21.43%. Percentages of success for individual judges ranged from 20.83% to 45.16%.
 4. Ratings of memorization accuracy which formed a basis for judging motivation showed a mean of 2.93 for the sighted group and a mean for the blind of 2.35. The difference was significant at the 1% level.
 5. Although the blind used less lip movement in articulation, this did not have an adverse effect on voice ratings.
 6. Differences in personality scores on the Bell Adjustment Inventory are shown in Table III. The sighted subjects' scores were significantly better on health, social, emotional, and total adjustment. The difference on home adjustment did not indicate significance.
 7. Correlations between personality scores and general effectiveness in speech lacked significance.
- nificance for both the experimental and control groups.
8. Significant differences on general voice factors favored the subgroup with no vision whatsoever over the subgroup with very limited vision. Differences in pitch modulation, bodily action, and lip movement were not statistically significant. The results are summarized in Table IV.
 9. All sex differences favored the girls. The greatest voice differences were shown by the totally blind girls compared to the totally blind boys. The greatest action differences were shown by the sighted control girls compared to the sighted control boys.
 10. The ratings of Minnesota blind students were significantly higher on vocal variety. The difference in general effectiveness favoring the Minnesota group fell just short of significance at the 5% level. The Wisconsin students' mean rating for bodily action was significantly higher than the Minnesota students' mean, the difference indicating significance at the 1% level.
 11. Differences in Bell Adjustment Inventory Scores between the totally blind group and the subgroup with very limited vision were not significant.

IV. INTERPRETATION AND PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

The findings summarized above fail to show the inferiority in the use of the voice which the literature on speech of

TABLE III
MEAN SCORES ON THE BELL ADJUSTMENT INVENTORY

Adjustment Factor	Mean		
	Blind	Sighted	Diff./ σ diff.
Home	10.21 \pm .62	9.08 \pm .60	1.31
Health	10.21 \pm .48	6.88 \pm .43	5.17
Social	18.12 \pm .58	14.96 \pm .68	3.53
Emotional	15.32 \pm .71	12.09 \pm .68	3.29
Total	53.87 \pm 1.19	43.02 \pm 1.68	5.27

TABLE IV
MEAN RATINGS FOR TOTALLY BLIND SUBJECTS AND SUBJECTS WITH VERY LIMITED VISION

Factor	Limited Vision			Totally Blind		
	N	Mean	Rating	N	Mean	Rating
General Effectiveness	46	2.13		38	2.69	
Vocal Variety	46	2.36		38	2.78	
Pitch Modulation	46	2.37		38	2.60	
Use of Loudness	46	2.28		38	2.76	
Bodily Action	39	1.96		33	1.83	
Lip Movement	39	2.53		33	2.35	

the blind would lead one to expect. The observer of a blind person may, because he notices the fact of blindness, become sensitized to small defects of all types and hence judge factors outside vision more unfavorably than he would for a sighted person. As a result the blind person may be rated as a poorer speaker.

The superiority in pitch modulation and the other smaller advantages in voice ratings which are shown by the blind subjects in this study may result from their reliance upon more verbal means of expression in order to present their ideas. A sighted person not only can imitate the action of others whom he observes but also need have little concern for those objects in the physical environment which interfere with the activities of blind persons. The sighted person expresses himself through voice and bodily action while the blind person has to rely much more upon the voice. He cannot be sure of the social effects of his bodily action.

Apparently the major speech problems of the blind child are those concerned with bodily action rather than with voice. Special emphasis in speech training of the blind should be placed on the development of freer bodily activity.

The findings of this study do not sup-

port the conclusion that speech and personality factors as measured by a pencil-and-paper inventory are closely related. Further study in this area is needed. Perhaps "eye contact" is an important cue to social adjustment. When subjects all wore dark glasses as they did in this study, "eye contact" could not be considered. It is also possible that original speaking shows more relationship to social adjustment than does the telling of a story committed to memory.

The differences in favor of the totally blind over those subjects with a very small amount of vision may be shown because the totally blind accept the fact of their blindness and make a more satisfactory adjustment than do those whose visual acuity fluctuates between light perception level and 20/200.

Along with any program of mental hygiene and speech training to develop poise and confidence for the blind should come education for the sighted person so that he can better understand the problems of the blind. Improved speech education for the blind and a better understanding of them by sighted members of society should make blind children more effective and better adjusted.

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